

# THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine published at 16 Boulevard des Philosophes  
Geneva, by the World's Student Christian Federation

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VOLUME XXI V. 20 October 1927

NUMBER 4

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## Why I Went to work in the Factory

By ARNOLD BREMOND.

*This article appeared in French in the "Christianisme Social" for August-September, 1927, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the editor. It forms the introduction to a study of the conditions of life, material, intellectual and spiritual, amongst the population of Ivry, a working-class district in the outskirts of Paris, based on the personal experiences and investigations of the author, a young theological student and member of the French Student Christian Movement. The study, which was first presented as a thesis to the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris in 1926, gives a most interesting analysis of the various aspects of industrial life in this locality, conditions of housing and work, and the mentality of different types of workers, especially those belonging to the individualist or anarchist and communist groups. Copies of the "Christianisme Social" may be obtained from: 2 Rue Balay, St-Etienne (Loire).*

In the first place, some of my friends who were preparing themselves for service as missionaries were in the habit of going, on Sunday afternoon, to the outskirts of Paris, where they set forth their faith to the lingering passers-by. Filled with the desire to test our own faith in the same way, or at any rate to give it some really popular expression, we also made our way there. In December 1924 twenty revolutionaries had already given us their addresses and asked us to go and see them. They came to visit us at the theological college, and one of them suggest-

ed that we should start at Ivry a *Tribune Libre* (open discussion group) which should be a sort of mutual aid society, material, intellectual and spiritual. We hired a hall, stuck up bills, and our little society called itself the "Free Group for Social Study". Each Thursday students and workers, men and women, gathered round a table to discuss the most profound and intimate questions. Camps, excursions, musical evenings, helped to draw us closer together. But things did not stop there. Some of the workmen used to say to me "You can't understand the life of the working man unless you have been a worker yourself, at any rate for a time." They repeated this so often, that finally I decided to follow their advice. Several of my worker friends did everything they could to help me in the matter. One of them said: "You are coming to make propaganda, so it won't do for you to be left alone with your job; we must try to get you into a big shop where you will have hundreds of comrades." Before I went to the working-men's lodging-house, I was taken in by a most hospitable family, with whom I continued to have my meals all through. I was well received everywhere; I did not hide either who I was or what I had come for, except in the case of one or two employers, and the most frequent remark I heard was: "If only all the students could do the same, for six months or a year, there would be less injustice in the world." Or "What you are doing is very fine, you know; if I were in your place I shouldn't do it."

### A Voyage of Discovery.

I had another strong reason for taking this step. Since the introduction of machinery there have been two civilisations in Europe, existing side by side, and often hostile to each other, without any inner relationship. I had the feeling — which has now become a certainty — that it is more important and more difficult to explore society in a vertical direction — that is, to move from one social class to another within the borders of one country — than horizontally, by crossing the frontiers of the different countries, without getting outside the social group to which one happens to belong, which is what the student does when he goes from a French to a foreign university. When he is once settled down into professional existence, contact with the workers becomes impossible. It is unusual for French students to work in factories; this is much more common in Germany and still more so in the United States, where it is facilitated by the fact that social distinct-



ions are much less marked than with us. A Norwegian magistrate recently proposed to the Government that students of that country should be obliged to work in the "shops" for a year, and that on the other hand primary education should be prolonged for a year for the advantage of the worker. And the VIth Conference of International Democracy held this year at Bierville expressed a wish to the same effect, though in less extreme terms.

In the third place, I had the impression, and I have it more and more strongly every day — that we are the rich men and that the workers are Lazarus. We have received nothing, whether education or science or wealth, which it is not our duty to share with our needy brothers, if only that we may have the right to say every morning: "Give *us* this day *our* daily bread." I went amongst them with the sense of carrying out an elementary duty, not of performing an act of charity, and I was greatly moved to note that their weary eyes seemed to see in me, simple student that I was, some glimpse of the saviour or the Christ for whom they had been looking...

### Contact with Reality.

In the period between December 2, 1925 and July 15, 1926, I worked successively as unskilled or semi-skilled worker, in manufacturies of *farinaceous foods*, *motor-headlights*, *wireless accessories*, *sewing-machines* and *porcelain electrical fittings*; also at *plumbing*, *machine locking-making*, and in an *iron-foundry*.

I did not attempt in this time anything like a technical investigation, such as those made by professional economists, the followers of Le Play; for this a more rigorous system would have been necessary and also considerable funds, which would have enabled me to face prolonged unemployment and to pass more frequently from one works to another. It seemed to me more important to know the life of the workers in some sort from within, with its risks, its sufferings and its uncertainty. I therefore preferred to start out, like the actual worker, without any financial resources, according to the advice of a workman comrade: "If you want to know life, you must burn your boats."

I do not claim either to bring a solution to the social problem. That is a matter for experts in economics and not for an amateur. Neither can I furnish the Church with a method of missionary activity. What I have tried to do is, first, to give an *explanation* of the mentality of the workers, and so of their hostility to

Christianity, for it was this hostility that I wished to understand and to overcome. The problems with which I was continually confronted were psychological problems. Secondly, I have tried to give as true a *picture* as possible of actual conditions. It seems to me that there are two elements in apostolic work, almost two vocations — the call to the spiritual life, the call of God, and the call to action, the call of the world. Without the second, our spiritual life lacks direction and becomes cloistered or dilettante. Without the first, our activity is mere agitation. Both elements are lacking to our foolish generation, and it is natural that we should turn to the young people of the Churches, who have at least experience of the mystical side of life, and prepare ourselves with them to see more clearly the vision of the world's suffering. Thus our common spiritual life will gain direction and purpose and strength, and from this the true apostolate will spring.

### The Service of Humanity.

Again, I do not believe that we can win the enthusiasm of the young people of to-day for the ideal of mere self-culture, even in the most spiritual sense of communion with God. There are so many other things to appeal to their enthusiasm — cars, wireless, science. Only the vision of a *humanity to be saved* will be able to grip them and hold them in the common service. No doubt the attempt at immediate action will soon bring to them a sense of their fundamental powerlessness, and thus throw them back on the true sources of religious life, which, again, will enable them later to perform effective service. It is in this sense that the Union of Volunteers for Evangelistic Work, the two-fold object of which is to combat the falling-off in pastoral and missionary vocations, and to unite all servants of the cause in the spirit that "the field is the world", imposes on its members the moral obligation of placing before Christian youth, — students, Volunteers and Scouts, — at every possible opportunity, what they may have seen of human need and suffering. They look on it as a privilege to communicate to others the glimpses they have gained of the realities of life. For, just as it is the duty of every man to listen to the voice of God, so it is the duty of every truly religious spirit to listen to the voice of the multitude. All I wished to do was to fulfil this duty.



# The Effects of Modern Industrialism on Personality.

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

(Reinhold Niebuhr erwähnt in diesem Artikel über "die Folgen der modernen Industrialisierung des Menschen" einen unlängst erlassenen Aufruf Henry Ford's, in dem derselbe sich bereit erklärt, als "Beitrag zur Lösung der Frage des Verbrechens" 6,000 junge Männer im Alter von 16 bis 20 Jahren anzustellen. Der Verfasser des Artikels knüpft daran folgende Bemerkungen:

"Dieser Aufruf mutet etwas eigentümlich an wenn man bedenkt, dass er in einem Augenblick geschäftlichen Rückganges der Fordwerke erging, kurz nach der Entlassung einer Reihe von Arbeitern, vor allem älterer Männer." — Die auf Massenerzeugung eingestellte moderne Industrie, und hier an erster Stelle die Automobil-Industrie, verlangt keine ausgebreiteten Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen sondern Flinkheit und Ausdauer. Dadurch wird es möglich, dass junge Menschen nach zwei-monatlicher Lehrzeit bereits mit achtzehn und neunzehn Jahren Höchstverdienste erzielen und somit eine verhängnisvolle Konkurrenz für ältere Arbeiter bilden, die nach dem fünfundvierzigsten Jahr nur noch schwer Arbeit finden können. Dabei ist ein eigentliches Vorwärtskommen für den einzelnen Arbeiter so gut wie unmöglich. Die günstiger gestellten Spezialarbeiter, die Werkzeug und Modelle herstellen, umfassen nicht mehr als fünfzehn Prozent der Gesamtarbeiterschaft.

Ueber die Eintönigkeit der modernen Maschinenarbeit ist bereits viel gesprochen und geschrieben worden. Der Arbeiter musste die verhältnismässig hohe Entlohnung und kurze Arbeitszeit mit dem Verlust der Freude an schöpferischer Arbeit bezahlen, und diese verhängnisvolle Wirkung der "Mechanisierung des Geistes" geht so weit, dass geistig unter dem Durchschnitt stehende Menschen dadurch, dass sie unbeschwert von Gedanken und Empfindungen ihre gleichförmige Arbeit verrichten, den Anforderungen der modernen Maschinenarbeit eher gerecht werden können als ihre geistig regsameren Kameraden. Charleton Parker hat in einer vor einigen Jahren angestellten Untersuchung nachgewiesen, dass sich in der modernen Maschinenindustrie die Neigung zeige, minderbegabte Arbeiter, deren Mangel an Vorstellungskraft und Phantasie sich bei der Maschinenarbeit geradezu als Tugend erwiesen habe, den durchschnittlich begabten vorzuziehen.

Es ist — wenigstens in Amerika — noch nicht zu überschauen, wie sich die Arbeiter zu dieser Beeinflussung der geistigen Gestaltung des Menschen durch die Maschine stellen. Jedenfalls ist bei ihnen bereits ein Gefühl der Unzufriedenheit zu beobachten, das nicht wirtschaftlich begründet ist und das man gelegentlich als "Arbeits-Neurose" bezeichnet hat. Mancher Arbeiter wird sich der Quelle seiner inneren Unzufriedenheit bewusst und so sind z.B. in meiner Heimatstadt hunderte zu finden,

die unter Verzicht auf verhältnismässig hohen Lohn, den sie mit übermässigem Kräfteinsatz erkaufen mussten, von gewissen Unternehmen in der Automobil-Industrie zu andern Unternehmen übergegangen sind, in denen etwas geringerer Lohn bezahlt, dafür nicht mit derselben masslosen Geschwindigkeit gearbeitet wird. Im Allgemeinen begegnet die Maschinenindustrie in Amerika keinem aktiven Widerstand sondern eher passiver Zustimmung. Der einzige Vorteil der Maschine, die Möglichkeit billiger Warenherstellung, begünstigt den Arbeiter als Konsumenten und es scheint, dass er sich damit abfindet, für innere Befriedigung äusseren Besitz einzutauschen, zu "haben" wenn er nicht mehr "sein" darf. Jedoch ist es durchaus fraglich ob sich die Arbeiter auf die Dauer mit diesem Zustande abfinden. Vorläufig haben wir in Amerika erst eine Generation von Industrie-Arbeitern, die aus unseren eigenen Landbezirken und aus Europa zugewandert sind, sodass über das künftige Verhältnis der Arbeiter zu ihrer Arbeit noch kein Urteil gefällt werden kann. Erst wenn verschiedene Generationen den Zwang der Maschinenarbeit ausgesetzt gewesen sind, wird sich zeigen, ob die Arbeiter weiterhin ihre Persönlichkeit äusseren Bequemlichkeiten opfern und sich mit der Möglichkeit des Erwerbs eines kleinen Autos, eines Radioapparats und anderer Segnungen der Massenerzeugung zufriedengeben wollen. Vielleicht kommt es nicht eher zum offenen Konflikt, als bis die Arbeiter dank der hohen Löhne ihren Kindern das Hochschulstudium ermöglichen können, und diese Verschiebung in der gesellschaftlichen Struktur dann auf die Arbeitsverhältnisse selbst zurückwirkt.

Eine der gefährlichsten psychologischen Wirkungen der Massenerzeugung liegt darin, dass sie den Arbeiter nervös erschöpft ohne ihn körperlich zu ermüden. Henry Ford rühmt sich, dass seine Leute zwar hart arbeiten aber keine harte Arbeit leisten müssten und gibt damit eine ganz richtige Definition der Maschinenarbeit. Sie erschöpft die älteren Männer ohne sie eigentlich körperlich zu ermüden, und sie weckt in den jüngeren den Trieb nach gefühlsmässiger Entspannung. In dieser Tatsache ist der Schlüssel dafür zu finden, dass in den meisten grossen Industriezentren das Problem der Sittlichkeit so akut geworden ist. Bei dem fehlenden inneren Rückhalt in dem Leben der meisten Arbeiter und bei der Nüchternheit der täglichen Arbeit, sind Ausschweifungen in den Mussestunden meist unvermeidlich. Die Lasterhaftigkeit in unsern Grossstädten steht in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit dem von der Maschinenarbeit in den Arbeitern erzeugten Gefühl der Leere und des Unbefriedigtseins.

Viele Kenner industriellen Lebens glauben, dass das Problem der Maschinenarbeit sich unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Einzelpersönlichkeit nicht lösen lasse und dass für den Arbeiter nichts getan werden könne als äusserste Herabsetzung seiner Arbeitszeit, um ihm so in der arbeitsfreien Zeit zu geben, was er bei der Arbeit selbst nicht findet: die Gelegenheit, seinem Wesen gemäss zu leben. Vielleicht lässt sich tatsächlich eine weitere Herabsetzung der Arbeitszeit ermöglichen; aber mit der freien Zeit allein ist es nicht getan. Die Gefahr liegt nur zu nahe, dass Generationen von Arbeitern unter dem Einfluss der modernen Maschinenarbeit die Neigung und Fähigkeit dafür verlieren, ihre freie Zeit durch sinnvolle und kulturell wertvolle Tätigkeit auszufüllen. So ist es wohl aussichtsreicher, wenn auch schwieriger, das Problem des Verhältnisses von Werk und Mensch von der Seite der Arbeiter zu lösen. Es ist nicht leicht, doch sicher auch nicht unmöglich, durch geringe Verschiebungen des Systems zu Gunsten demokratischerer Arbeitsmethoden einen engeren



Zusammenhang und eine persönlichere Beziehung zwischen dem Arbeiter und dem gesamten Arbeitsvorgang zu schaffen.

Wenn die Entwicklung wie bisher weitergeht, werden mehr und mehr Charakter und Persönlichkeit äusserer Bequemlichkeit und sinnlichen Genüssen geopfert werden. In Europa ist diese Gefahr geringer, da die Arbeiter durch den fortwährenden Kampf um angemessene Entlohnung gezwungen sind, über das Arbeitsproblem von der politischen und kulturellen Seite her nachzudenken. Amerika ist reich; seine Industrie wirft gewaltige Erträge ab; die Mehrzahl seiner Arbeiter leidet keine Not. So liegt für sie auch kein Grund vor, sich über das Problem der Güter- und Reichumsverteilung zu besinnen. Sie gehören zu einem wesentlichen Teil bereits dem Mittelstand an und sind weit davon entfernt, eine gewaltsame Aenderung der bestehenden Verhältnisse zu wünschen. Die Gefahr ist gross, dass sie sich mit den Bedingungen westlichen Lebens, seinen Vor- und Nachteilen endgültig abfinden und immer weniger Verständnis aufbringen für den "Heroismus des Empörers".)

Some months ago Mr. Henry Ford added to the free publicity which papers all over the world so generously give him by announcing that he would employ six thousand boys from the ages of 16 to 20 in order that he might help "solve the crime problem." It happened that the announcement came at a time when the Ford industry was not in full production and many men were being laid off, particularly older men. The older men lost their places under a policy which was described as "weeding out inefficients." It may be imagined therefore that among the workers the effort of the Ford industry to solve the crime problem was greeted with derision. The fact is that the employment of the thousands of young men at a time when production was slack was dictated by the natural but inhuman characteristics of modern machine industry. The machine demands stamina but not skill. The skill is in the machine and the only difficulty is to find machinists who are able to run along with it at the tempo at which it is really able to operate.

### The Ruthlessness of Modern Industry.

The automobile industry, which has perfected quantity production to a degree not surpassed by any industry, is significantly a young man's industry. Thousands of country boys flock to it each year, intent upon making their first real money, and the men over forty-five haunt the employment lines in vain. The only skill required for the operation of the modern automatic machine can be acquired in about two months on the average. Thus a young man of eighteen or nineteen is able to achieve his highest earning power within a few months or years after

entering industry. His only hope of advancement after that is to graduate into a foremanship or into that small class of industrial aristocrats who make the tools and patterns for the machines, and who are the real brains of the industry. Their total number, including electricians and maintenance men, does not exceed 15 % of the total workers in an average plant. The machine in other words has given youth an undue advantage over age and made the lot of the aging worker a tragic one. This is particularly true in America, where so few industries make pension provisions for their employees.

### **The Slaves of the Machine.**

The psychological effects of the monotony of machine production have been discussed by many social observers who are more competent than the writer to analyse them. The machine has taken creative joy out of work and given the worker nothing but his wage and the comparatively brief working day as reward for his toil. The fact is that the monotony is such that a mentally subnormal worker is frequently more efficient in operating the machine than a mentally alive individual. He finds it easier to adjust himself to the machine and less urgent to rid himself of the "excess baggage" of his thoughts and sentiments, which have no place in the industrial process. Charleton Parker made an investigation of highly mechanized industries some years ago, which revealed that some industries were actually giving preference to poorly endowed workers. This policy may have been prompted partly by the realization that it was useless to pay for brains if they were not needed; but it was also prompted by the fact that the stolidity of the unimaginative person was a real virtue in machine production. If industry should continue to develop in this direction, the day may actually come when a process of selection will produce industrial slaves who resemble Capek's Robots.

### **Is the Worker Alive to the Danger?**

The reaction of the worker to this invasion of personal values by the machine is not yet clear, at least in America. There are indeed vague dissatisfactions among workers which have no economic cause and which students of industry sometimes describe as "work-neurosis." Even a decent wage does not satisfy the intelligent worker, and his grumblings of discontent



are sometimes not understood either by himself or by the management. Sometimes the workers become conscious of the root of their dissatisfactions. In my own city hundreds of workers may be found who have transferred from an automobile factory which pays comparatively high wages and speeds up its production to a point beyond human endurance to another concern which has the policy of paying slightly lower wages and maintaining a slightly slower tempo of work. Yet as far as America is concerned it must be said that the general reaction to machine industry is not sullen revolt but unimaginative compliance. The one virtue of the machine, cheap production, benefits the worker as consumer, and he seems to be willing to accept the things which he may own as adequate substitutes for the personal satisfactions which the work might bring him. In this he is only expressing the general strategy of western life in his own way ; for the West seems to have made up its mind that it is more satisfying to have than to be. It is not certain that the worker will continue to be satisfied in this way. In America industrial production is in its youth, and though its logic has been developed more consistently than in Europe, there are fewer signs of fatigue and discontent. The fact is that by far the largest number of industrial workers are in the first generation, and have been drawn from the countryside of our own and European nations. The real effect of its strategy will not be known until several generations have been tied to the wheels of the machine. If present tendencies should continue indefinitely it would simply mean that the worker is willing to sacrifice personality for a mess of pottage and be the compliant tool of industrialism as long as it offers him a fair satisfaction of his material wants and permits him to own a little automobile, a radio and some of the other blessings of its quantity production. Perhaps the deciding factor in America will be that the industry pays a high enough wage to large numbers of its machine tenders to permit them to give their children a high school education. When these products of the modern school are forced back upon the machine the day of acute discontent may come.

### **The Need for Emotional Release.**

Perhaps one of the most dangerous psychological effects of quantity production is its tendency to produce nervous exhaustion without making the worker physically tired. Mr. Ford boasts that his men must work hard but need not do any hard work.

That is a fairly accurate description of machine production. Without being physically tired the older men immediately drop off to sleep in the street cars when their work is finished. The younger men seek some kind of emotional release in the hours of leisure. The moral problem is so acute in most large industrial centres because of this fact. Given the lack of personal resources in the lives of most of the workers and the lack of emotional satisfaction in the work of the day, sensual excess in the hours of leisure becomes almost inevitable. The vice problem in our large cities is intimately related to the inadequacies of machine production. Our good church people, who usually are totally unaware of any problem in industry, work themselves into a frenzy upon occasion in demanding that the police solve a problem which is deeply rooted in the whole nature of modern life.

### Is the Short Working Day a Solution ?

Many students of industry believe that machine production can never be redeemed from the standpoint of personality, and that nothing can be done for the worker but to reduce his hours of labour to the lowest possible minimum, so that he may find in his leisure what he misses in his work, opportunities for self-realization. It may be that if the extravagances of competition, with its expensive advertising and high pressure salesmanship, are reduced, a further reduction in hours of labour will become possible and desirable. But leisure alone will not solve the problem of the worker. At present he is inclined to alternate the monotony of his work with frenzied activity and sensual excess in his leisure. Fewer hours of labour might change the uses to which longer hours of leisure would be put in a slight degree. But a not improbable eventuality is the cultivation of generations of workers who do not care to make constructive use of leisure and would not know how if they cared. Culture may be based upon leisure, but only if it becomes the opportunity for creative enterprise, and the great masses may never be able to make creative use of it. A more promising but also more difficult strategy would be to try to save the machine process for the use of personality. If workers had the choice between fewer hours and slower production it would probably be difficult to persuade them to choose the latter alternative, but that is one choice which must ultimately be made. It may not be possible to make the machine process itself interesting, but if some of the efficiency of the industry is sacrificed for the sake of introducing democratic procedure in



the factory, it may be possible to give the worker some sense of personal relationship to the entire manufacturing process, and some satisfaction in the total product manufactured.

#### A "Rebellious Heroism."

If the other policy is followed, and everything is sacrificed for mechanical efficiency and the workers kept fairly satisfied by shortening the working day and maintaining wage levels, we will be moving in the direction of a civilization which sacrifices character for material comforts and sensual satisfactions. In Europe, where wage scales are lower, the workers are forced to give thought to the whole problem of industry and its effect upon human personality. Their very effort to secure more adequate material returns from industry drives them into profound thought on all the political and cultural implications of industrial problems ; and they attain character and their life a purpose by their revolt against the limitation of industrial society. In America industry has been so productive and the wealth of the country is so great that most of the workers do not suffer physically, no matter how unequally the riches of industry are divided. A large majority of the workers have therefore become psychologically members of the middle classes, and do not challenge the limitations of industrial civilization with any force. There is danger that they will sink into an easy connivance at the limitations of western life and find their satisfactions in material comforts rather than in the adventure of rebellious heroism.

## **Can the Anti-Spiritual Elements in the Capitalistic System Be Changed ?**

By **ARNOLD WOLFERS**

The question has been put to me in this form. It implies that there are elements in our present economic order which ought to be changed. Most people agree to this. Yet many have lost the courage to hope or work for an economic order which, though remaining efficient enough to satisfy our material needs, will prove better fitted for the accomplishment of man's higher aspirations. The promises of revolutionary communism meet with well-deserved scepticism. The Russian experiment shows the disastrous effects of trying to put a newly invented "economic system" into practice. As if our economic life were but a piece of machinery which a clever engineer could replace by some well thought out new mechanism! We must give up the idea of wanting to discover a well-constructed scheme of economic institutions which by their very existence will deliver society from the evils we are suffering from to-day. What we need is spiritual revolution, going hand in hand with steady institutional reforms. Both spiritual change and modifications of institutions are dependent on one another and must help one another. Whether the "capitalistic system" is to be abandoned or whether it is only necessary to change some of its elements, is a quarrel about words. If we go through a period of modifications of elements, all expressing the same underlying spiritual tendency, it will be for future scientists to decide at what date of history so-called "capitalism" came to an end and gave room to a new "system."

### **What the Industrial System Has Meant to the Workers.**

In criticising our present order, we naturally first have in mind the situation of the industrial proletariat. Social discontent and social revolts all over the world make it impossible for our generation to forget this most urgent problem. There are people who say that the workman of to-day is getting a very decent



salary compared with what his ancestors received. Poverty, others will argue, can never be wholly eliminated. Both objections may be true. Yet, how can we believe that even the most masterly demagoguery would have been able to move millions and millions of workmen to class-consciousness, class-hatred, and even active class-war — such as is the case in Europe — had Labour not continued to have deep objective reasons for discontent.

### The Difficulties of a Transition Period.

The industrial development during the last century brought about a fundamental revolution in the life of the working classes. Under the most difficult circumstances they had to face problems which had never before been presented to mankind. There was the change from handicraft to mechanical work, from independent individual work in small workshops to disciplined working armies in big plants. Life in modern congested cities and slums is deprived of the supports that nature gives to everybody in small cities or out in the country. Family life was destroyed by women and children being forced to work outside of the home. The school, rather than a substitute for the joys of the home, was a torture to the proletarian child, deprived of preparation, leisure, and privacy. Neighbourly fellowship, popular festivals, religious inspiration, which even the poorest enjoyed in the old small communities, were lost to the masses of modern industrial cities. What did the more privileged classes do to help meet these hardships? They made a show of increasing wealth. They regarded the earnings of labour as mere costs of production, laying the emphasis on the reduction of this embarrassing burden. Certainly much of the hardship was unavoidable in a period of transition to a new and more productive order. But to proclaim an ideal of individualistic liberty, which left the weaker and less fortunate to shift for themselves, in the midst of a ruthless economic struggle, was to add irony to their other sufferings. The psychological and moral effects of such an attitude on the soul of the masses has proved most detrimental. The proletariat has been able in the last decades to fight its way out of the worst misery. By building up, with its own meagre means, trade unions, labour parties, and social clubs, it has overcome the isolation of the individual "seller of working power," and has begun to adjust itself to the new conditions of life. Labour has regained a minimum of social standing, of self-

respect and education. Political democracy has opened the way to a considerable influence in legislation and government. Unfortunately, however, practically all of this has been accomplished against the will of the bourgeois classes. State, school and church have done their best to resist the unwelcomed demands of the proletarian masses. This accounts for the class-antagonism of our days. The masses are resentful; their appetites, once awakened in passionate revolt, threaten never to be satisfied. It is far more difficult for the possessing classes now, since they are in a position of self-defence, to find the spirit that will make for peace.

Some people believe that the standard of living of the workman will gradually rise and thereby help to assimilate Labour to the middle classes. They point to American experiences of recent date. I shall not venture to prophecy whether this optimistic view in regard to material prosperity is true even for America. But more important is the fact that the deeper evils inherent in our present economic order cannot be overcome by more wealth, even if everyone could hope to have his due part in it. The so-called possessing classes themselves are not finding the development of personality and the satisfaction of a rich and valuable life which they had expected to get from what they called a system of liberty.

### The Evils of the Competitive System.

The economic struggle that fills most of our life has often been described : economic warfare between competitors, between buyers and sellers, capital and labour, producer and consumer. When one and a half centuries ago the manufacturing classes started out on an adventure of private enterprise and initiative, their most noble aspirations were towards a coming harmonious society of free and happy personalities. What they have acquired is an unexpected command over the methods of production of material wealth, wonderful technical and scientific discoveries, a money and credit system that binds the markets of the world together. Yet the question is on the lips even of the well-to-do: What is it all for? The isolated individual, seeking to satisfy ever-growing personal needs, rushing in pursuit of personal profits with his mind set on his private advantage, is so poor, with all his material wealth, that he has to find distraction in profits and pleasures for a life that has lost its eternal values. To be free "to make money," careless of the other and nobler



spheres of life, and of our brother-man, has not developed in us a free creative personality. The socialist movement of opposition to the spirit of this system, wrong as the socialist conception of the "Zukunftsstaat," the "future heaven on earth," and as socialist methods may be — shows in its deepest tendency a more profound insight into the evils we have to face than is expressed by the general attitude of the churches. "Socialism" means putting the emphasis on the "We" instead of on the "I." Paradoxical as this assertion may sound, we can only hope to regain reverence for the life of the individual, we can only hope to develop personality, if we give room to a spirit that is ready to sacrifice the "I" of personality to the "We" of brotherhood and fellowship. By the "I," I mean the "I" of the individual, the group, the class, the nation.

### Why Moral Effort Has Failed.

To place our emphasis on spiritual revolution is regarded by many as utopian. There is a desire to hear of practical institutional reforms. Have not centuries of moral admonitions proved ineffective? Puritan asceticism and noble deeds of service undertaken by the rich, have not saved us from the present social crisis. Calvinism and Puritanism are even reproached as having led up to the "capitalistic spirit." Although this reproach seems to me unjustified, capitalism in all its essential features having developed in exactly the same way in Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic countries, there is some truth in saying that moral teachings have failed. Calvinism, perhaps, was more effective than the others in gaining at least some influence over a spirit of materialistic greed that proved stronger than the will of the Churches. Whilst giving a religious blessing to the energetic business activity of the rising manufacturing classes, Puritanism restrained the successful individuals from reaping the fruit of their efforts in the form of pleasure and luxury. But what was the result? Business success and profit-making, with all the egotistic and often ruthless struggle among men inherent to it, became an end in itself. The individual having once been allowed to isolate himself and to direct his mind to private benefit and success, soon became deaf to moral teachings. It was a hopeless undertaking to build upon the social conscience and brotherly love of individuals who in their economic life were taught to think solely of themselves, of their own success, and their own advantage and power.

### The Need for a Sense of Social Responsibility.

The individualistic system of marketing and investment is full of temptations ; we need a spirit that will counteract these tendencies. Some of the accomplishments of the Labour movement may show what we mean by this. Salaries, until very recently, were regarded as a matter of purely private agreement. To-day collective bargaining, courts of arbitration on wages, and national wage boards express the idea that labour's share of the national income is of concern to the whole community and demands to be fixed justly. It is " we " who are responsible. Gradually this kind of common responsibility is being acknowledged to exist in matters of housing, of work-shops regulations, of hours of work and unemployment. Another example. Private ownership of the means of production is being attacked. The reason is not a liking for bureaucratic state management, which in many cases may prove inefficient. The spirit of collectivism will not put up with privacy where the life and work of thousands of citizens are concerned. Socialism does not mean to do away with the free disposition and power of decision of the competent managers at the head of modern big enterprises. It demands that those who direct and control should do so in the spirit of true and responsible leaders of a working community. Of course, it will not do for them to profess that they are thinking in terms of service only. Even the way in which this word is being abused, however, proves, that a rising spirit of collectivism will no longer put up with an openly confessed spirit of arbitrary private property. The time is coming when people will wonder how we could think of allowing men to run the press, the theatres and cinemas, railways, and even mines, as if there was no more in them than their capacity to bring in dividends. State ownership, suppression and public control are but very inefficient substitutes for a public spirit that would make everyone feel that he was working as a trustee for the general good. For the time being such substitute measures are unavoidable, for instance to check the overwhelming economic influence of holders of monopolies, or to limit outrageous luxury and vast private expenditure, or to retain some of the sources of national wealth at the disposal of the community. Under the dominance of a spirit of collectivism the very conceptions of property and private income would change. We already see some such changes to-day. They are finding expression in modern codes of law. The most drastic reforms of institutions will only lead to new abuses of power



and opportunity, if they do not express a change of spirit. Where such a change is in the making, we are able to devise and go ahead with institutional reforms.

### **The Task of the Middle Classes.**

The middle classes still cling obstinately to the individualistic ideals of the past, resenting both the hierarchical leadership of a modern plutocracy and the power of the organized masses. They seem still to hope for a return to a middle-class order of equality and small independent private ownership, for which modern capitalism has no room. The middle classes are called upon above all to make the venture of the spiritual revolution. They are less exposed to the temptations of power and big profits than the plutocracy. They have more leisure and fewer economic preoccupations than both the plutocracy and the proletariat. The time has come for them to refuse to race feverishly from fashion to fashion, applauding every new invention that claims to satisfy new needs. If our architects, engineers and employers will look at the face of our modern cities, with the isolated homes of the rich and the dull and ugly dwellings of the masses, they will revolt at the idea of giving their lives and energies to so disintegrated a social order. The middle classes will have to attain to so passionate a sense of the " We " that their action will save society from breaking asunder into antagonistic classes. Otherwise they will be the first to be sacrificed in a violent outburst of economic class-war between the Plutocracy and the Proletariate.

# L'Industrialisme Moderne tue-t-il la Vie Spirituelle ?

Par ANDRÉ PHILIP

(This article does not set out to consider the question of the just distribution of wealth. Such a point of view implies the placing of the highest value on material riches, and can therefore not be that of the Christian, for whom personality and the welfare of the human soul must take the first place. The question then which we shall here consider is this : Do we find in the capitalist system, conditions of life amongst workers or employers which hinder the development of the personality ? And if this is the case, what remedy have we to suggest ?

The first hindrance to spiritual life amongst the workers is poverty, due to unemployment and low wages, bringing with it physical, mental and moral degeneration ; — the wife and mother forced out of the home and into the factory, the children left to the streets, the man taking refuge in the public-house. But there is another hindrance in the character of the work itself. I am not speaking here of work done under unhealthy conditions, such as are to be found in certain artificial silk manufactories, but of the ordinary work of the modern factory. The effect of the methods of mass production and specialisation imported from America has been to deprive the worker of all initiative, and to make him a mere cog in the machine. It is quite in accordance with this tendency that we have already ceased to speak of the " workers " and have begun to talk of " Labour " — viewing it as an inanimate something to be used in the execution of our orders.

Amongst the employers also obstacles to the development of the spiritual life are to be found. In the first place the fierce competition for markets and the constant striving to crush out rivals and to avoid being crushed by them. The Christian attitude of confidence, disinterested service and public spirit is incompatible with the qualities necessary for success in business. Further, the ruthless competition to which he is subject obliges the employer to lower salaries in order to reduce costs. In this matter he is helpless. Again, the finding of new markets necessitates a whole system of propaganda and advertisement. More serious still, the modern business man is swallowed up mind and body by his business ; nothing of his personality is left over for culture, for the life of the intellect or of art, in a word, for a truly civilised existence. Inside his factory he is a man of genius ; outside it he is a mediocrity, and his success in business is due to this very intellectual mediocrity, which enables him to concentrate all his faculties night and day on the routine of affairs.

We find then both amongst the workers and the employers conditions which make the development of a true spiritual life impossible ; the question then becomes, what remedy can we find ? Can we so change the capitalist system that it will become favourable to the development of the individual personality ?



With regard to the question of *wages*, the remedy is to be found in a better organisation of the work on scientific lines, which shall permit of increased production and so lower costs, and at the same time make it possible to raise wages. This involves "rationalisation" of industry in all its forms — mass production, specialisation, etc. It would also seem to be possible to decrease unemployment and stabilise industry by a more scientific method of control and the exchange of information between different companies. Certain precautions must however be taken. (1) A study of the question of industrial fatigue. (2) Greater publicity in matters of business, and a certain measure of State control over private business with a view to its better organisation and the elimination of unnecessary competition. (3) Organised trade unions sufficiently strong to ensure that higher wages shall really be paid, and that the new methods shall not merely be used to swell the profits of capital.

To combat the increasingly *mechanical* and *monotonous* character of the work, two ways have been suggested. (1) The reduction of hours of work and education of the worker. Much progress has been made in this direction, both as regards shortening the working day and in providing the workers with the means of self-culture. (2) A greater measure of control by the workers within the factory, especially in regard to technical questions, the arrangement of the work, etc. This has been developed in the United States, and tends to lead to a sort of contract system in which the whole direction of the work, enrollment of personnel, payment of wages, etc. falls into the hands of the workers' committee, the employer merely retaining the responsibility for the commercial and financial side of the undertaking. The workers thus win back as a group the responsibility and initiative which they have lost as individuals.

All these measures, however, must be regarded as merely palliatives. They do not remove the fundamental fact of class warfare, and if they do something to improve conditions amongst the workers, they leave untouched the obstacles to a true spiritual development amongst the employers. So long as the principle of our economic system remains that of individual profit, and the aim of our industrial magnates is to furnish dividends to their share-holders, rather than to serve the community, these difficulties will remain. The only real solution of the question then is the replacement of the individualist and capitalist system by one based on socialism and collectivism.)

Précisons tout d'abord dans quel esprit nous entendons aborder ce problème. Le plus souvent, lorsqu'on discute aujourd'hui des questions sociales on se place exclusivement ou principalement sur le terrain de la *justice distributive*, et l'on se demande si les richesses sont justement réparties entre les divers facteurs de la production, travail, capital et terre. Ce point de vue quoique légitime ne saurait avoir la première place dans nos préoccupations ; il suppose en effet que l'on attache aux richesses matérielles une valeur *en soi* puisque la question de leur juste distribution prime toutes les autres. Le chrétien, au contraire, met au premier plan l'âme humaine, la personnalité de l'individu, et ne s'intéresse aux biens matériels que dans la mesure où ils

servent à constituer un milieu favorable ou défavorable à l'éclosion de la vie spirituelle.

Nous ne nous demanderons donc pas "les richesses sont-elles bien réparties en régime capitaliste?" mais étant donné le système de répartition capitaliste, rencontrons-nous dans la classe ouvrière ou la classe patronale des conditions de vie qui fassent obstacle au développement de la personnalité? et si oui, comment y remédier.

## I

a) Le premier obstacle à la vie spirituelle dans la classe ouvrière est assurément la *misère* provenant du chômage et des *faibles salaires*; ceci est malheureusement trop évident pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'insister et tous ceux qui ont quelque expérience des questions sociales ont pu constater les maux effroyables causés par les bas salaires; c'est la dégradation physique, intellectuelle et morale de l'homme surmené et insuffisamment nourri, c'est l'épouse obligée d'abandonner son foyer pour aller à l'usine chercher un gain complémentaire; ce sont des enfants chétifs, livrés à eux-mêmes, élevés dans les rues où ils ont sous les yeux tous les vices et tous les mauvais exemples; c'est le taudis avec sa conséquence fatale, l'homme se détachant du foyer, et allant chercher au cabaret l'illusion d'une vie sociale; c'est enfin la lutte pour la vie, lutte continuelle, implacable entre des hommes qui doivent s'emparer du travail disponible pour nourrir leurs enfants. Dans de telles conditions, le progrès de la personnalité est impossible et l'on peut affirmer qu'il y a dans ce monde des milieux maudits, réfractaires à la grâce divine et où toute vie spirituelle est fatalement détruite.

b) Mais la misère n'est pas le seul obstacle à la personnalité de l'ouvrier, un autre peut-être réside dans les conditions même du travail moderne. Et je ne veux pas parler ici des travaux particulièrement fatigants ou malsains, ni de ceux qui détruisent les forces morales de l'homme (tels certains travaux dans les usines de soie artificielle qui produisent chez les travailleurs des cas d'éthérisme ou hypertrophie du sens génésique avec tous les excès qui en résultent) mais simplement du travail d'usine ordinaire tel que l'accomplit l'ouvrier moyen. Un tel travail n'est plus regardé aujourd'hui comme l'expression d'une personnalité, comme l'effort d'une âme pour s'incarner dans la matière et faire œuvre durable; c'est simplement un geste machinal, toujours identique à lui-même et qui n'exige de l'homme aucun effort



d'intelligence ; de plus en plus en effet nous assistons à l'introduction en Europe des méthodes américaines en particulier du Taylorisme dont l'effet est à la fois d'augmenter considérablement la production et de réduire, parfois même de supprimer toute initiative de l'ouvrier dans son travail. Le salarié se trouve ainsi absorbé dans un engrenage mécanique qu'il doit subir sans essayer de le comprendre. Cette mécanisation conduit à une dégradation de la fonction ouvrière dans la vie du pays, à une méconnaissance absolue du caractère humain du salarié qui est d'une extrême gravité ; dans les traités d'Economie Politique déjà, on ne parle plus du travailleur qui devrait pourtant être au centre de toutes les études sociales, mais du travail, entité abstraite, dont le prix se fixe d'après la loi de l'offre et de la demande : De même à l'usine, l'ouvrier est considéré non comme un homme, mais comme une machine, que l'on fait fonctionner comme un automate, tout juste bon à exécuter des ordres. Comme l'a écrit G. D. H. Cole :

La cause de notre détresse actuelle ne repose pas dans un stage inévitable de l'évolution économique, mais dans une vile conception des relations humaines qui a pénétré et maintenant dominé notre vie sociale ; cette faillite spirituelle à laquelle nous sommes parvenus trouve son expression concrète dans le salariat... notre système économique est basé sur la négation de la valeur ultime et absolue de l'être humain et sur cette affirmation que la majorité des hommes peuvent être traités comme s'ils n'étaient pas des êtres humains, mais seulement des marchandises à acheter et à vendre comme un épicier vend du beurre.

c) Faibles salaires et travail mécanisé, tels sont donc les obstacles qui s'opposent à l'éclosion de la vie spirituelle chez les ouvriers ; des obstacles d'un autre ordre, mais d'une égale gravité s'opposent également à la vie spirituelle chez les chefs d'entreprise ; certes, ce n'est pas la misère, ni les difficultés matérielles qui empêchent le développement complet de leur personnalité ; néanmoins, par leurs fonctions, par le milieu dans lequel ils évoluent, ils se trouvent journellement contraints d'accomplir des actes qui sont la négation de toute vie spirituelle profonde.

1. C'est tout d'abord la *Concurrence*, forme économique de la lutte pour la vie, qui est aussi violente entre patrons qu'entre ouvriers ; alors que les seconds luttent pour obtenir du travail, les premiers se disputent les débouchés et dans cette bataille chacun cherche par tous les moyens à écraser son adversaire. Un exemple en est dans ce fameux « secret des affaires » que nos industriels opposent sans cesse aux investigations du fisc et des

enquêteurs et dans le soin que met chacun à conserver pour soi toutes les méthodes et techniques nouvelles au lieu de les faire connaître et d'aider à les répandre dans le pays. Il y a contradiction entre cette attitude *nécessaire pour réussir* et celle du chrétien qui est toute de confiance, d'amour désintéressé et de dévouement.

2. Dans cette concurrence, celui qui l'emporte est celui dont le prix de revient est le plus bas ; à valeur technique égale, c'est donc celui qui abaissera le plus le salaire de ses ouvriers ; souvent un entrepreneur se voit contraint, pour survivre de payer des salaires scandaleusement insuffisants, mais qui lui sont imposés par la concurrence.

3. Pour s'ouvrir des débouchés, un procédé essentiel est la *réclame*. L'industriel chrétien qui cherche à suivre les enseignements de Jésus, à être franc, simple et humble sera éliminé par la concurrence habile à mettre ses qualités en valeur, à s'en attribuer au besoin d'imaginaires, à vanter ses produits et à chanter à grands fracas ses propres louanges.

4. Et ceci est le plus grave, la direction d'une entreprise devient aujourd'hui si compliquée qu'elle oblige un industriel à se donner *tout entier* à son travail ; pendant longtemps le chef d'entreprise a pu *réserver* quelque chose et l'on rencontre encore en Europe, des patrons cultivés, férus d'art et de littérature, ayant une vie religieuse et conservant le meilleur d'eux-mêmes pour leur vie profonde en dehors de l'usine. Mais avec l'aggravation de la concurrence et les nouvelles méthodes, le succès est acquis au spécialiste, à l'homme qui met les problèmes de l'usine au centre de son existence, qui y pense jour et nuit, tend vers eux toutes ses pensées et toute son énergie et ne se réserve rien pour la vie intérieure ; on a ainsi le type de l'homme d'affaires américain, comme Ford, génie d'organisation dans l'usine, esprit primaire et médiocre dans la vie et génie dans l'usine *en raison même* de sa médiocrité intellectuelle.

## II.

Nous trouvons donc dans l'organisation industrielle moderne, certaines conditions de vie qui s'opposent au progrès spirituel tant de l'ouvrier que du patron : Et c'est alors que se pose le problème essentiel : comment les supprimer ? Est-il possible au sein d'un régime capitaliste de réaliser un milieu favorable au développement de la personnalité individuelle ?

Pour répondre à cette question, reprenons un à un les maux



que nous avons signalés, et voyons dans quelle mesure il peut y être porté remède.

A. Tout d'abord, la *misère* ouvrière, résultant du chômage et des bas salaires ; pour diminuer sa gravité, il faut que le patronat *puisse* et *veuille* accorder aux travailleurs une rémunération plus élevée ; il y a donc d'abord un problème *technique* d'organisation du travail, puis une question de distribution et d'équilibre de forces.

a) Pour payer de hauts salaires, il faut que le chef d'entreprise obtienne de sa main-d'œuvre un rendement élevé, et il sera en mesure de consentir un salaire d'autant plus important que la productivité de chaque ouvrier sera plus grande. C'est pourquoi, nous devons favoriser les progrès de l'organisation scientifique du travail sous toutes ses formes : orientation professionnelle, sélection des ouvriers, adaptation de l'homme au travail taylorisme, travail en série, production par grandes masses, dont l'effet est de " rationaliser " l'industrie et de réduire son prix de revient. Nous devons aussi nous intéresser particulièrement aux efforts qui sont faits dans les divers pays en vue de lutter contre le chômage et de stabiliser l'industrie ; des études récentes entreprises sur la question il semble en effet résulter que les industriels dans la mesure où ils dirigent scientifiquement leurs usines, acceptent d'échanger avec leurs concurrents les renseignements statistiques indispensables et de se soumettre en période de prospérité à une discipline sévère, sont à même de prévoir les crises économiques et d'en atténuer sérieusement la gravité.

b) Cependant, et c'est là l'aspect social et « équilibre de forces » de la question, trois précautions doivent être prises.

1. Le taylorisme, pour être vraiment scientifique, doit être complété par des études sérieuses sur la *fatigue ouvrière*, sinon, il risquerait parfois de devenir un moyen d'exploitation des ouvriers par un patron sans scrupule.

2. L'organisation scientifique du travail, et en particulier la stabilisation des entreprises suppose l'abandon du principe du secret des affaires, une collaboration étroite entre concurrents et une organisation générale de chaque industrie dans la nation qui ne peut être réalisée par les chefs d'entreprise individuellement ; dans l'intérêt du progrès technique une intervention de l'Etat s'impose pour regrouper et réorganiser les diverses industries.

3. Enfin et surtout, si le patron *peut* à la suite d'une augmentation de productivité payer de hauts salaires, rien ne garantit qu'il

le fera. Les méthodes nouvelles supposent donc des syndicats ouvriers unis et puissamment organisés, capables d'exiger du patronat les augmentations de salaires que les nouvelles méthodes lui permettent d'accorder.

B. Le deuxième obstacle au développement de la personnalité chez l'ouvrier réside dans le caractère mécanique et monotone de son travail et il est malheureusement certain que le taylorisme et les méthodes nouvelles ne feront qu'accentuer cette mécanisation ; l'ancien artisan, l'ouvrier d'élite aimant son métier et capable de faire œuvre originale disparaît aujourd'hui dans la plupart des industries, c'est là une évolution inévitable que nous pouvons déplorer, mais non retarder et le problème consiste seulement, en acceptant la mécanisation, à trouver le moyen de remédier à ses effets. Deux voies sont ici ouvertes à nos efforts.

1. *La réduction de la journée de travail et l'éducation ouvrière.*

Plus le travailleur aura de loisirs, plus il lui sera possible de se détacher de son geste monotone et inintelligent pour organiser hors de l'usine sa vie réelle qui comprendra des possibilités d'éducation et de vie spirituelle ; de nombreuses réalisations ont déjà été effectuées en ce sens dans les dernières années ; dans la plupart des pays européens, le prolétariat a conquis de haute lutte la journée de huit heures et les syndicats ont profité des moyens ainsi rendus disponibles pour organiser des cercles d'études, des conférences, des chorales, etc. Dans certains pays comme l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne tout un mouvement d'éducation ouvrière a pris naissance et il semble qu'en France, la Confédération Générale du Travail commence à s'engager dans la même voie. Ces efforts doivent être encouragés ; il serait à souhaiter que non seulement les huit heures soient intégralement appliquées, mais que les 40 heures par semaine et des vacances annuelles soient obtenues afin de permettre à l'éducation ouvrière de faire de nouveaux progrès.

2. Mais il ne suffit pas de sauvegarder la vie intellectuelle de l'ouvrier hors de son travail ; au sein même de l'usine, des améliorations notables peuvent être réalisées : le plus souvent en effet il sera possible de *remplacer l'intérêt individuel que l'ouvrier portait jadis à son travail par un intérêt collectif portant sur l'ensemble de l'organisation du travail dans l'atelier* ; c'est ce que demandent les syndicats lorsqu'ils parlent de *contrôle ouvrier* ; entendons-nous bien, il ne s'agit pas là d'un contrôle vague et général sur toutes les affaires commerciales et financières de l'entreprise, tel que celui de la loi allemande sur les Betriebsräte,



mais d'un contrôle, précis, concret, portant exclusivement sur les questions techniques, d'organisation du travail dans l'atelier ; ce contrôle peut débiter par une participation ouvrière à la direction technique, une collaboration entre le conseil d'usine syndicale et les ingénieurs pour déterminer les meilleures méthodes de travail. C'est le procédé usité aux Etats-Unis dans le plan du Baltimore & Ohio Railroad ; mais si le syndicat est puissant il exige rapidement davantage et peu à peu la plupart des fonctions techniques secondaires passent intégralement entre les mains des ouvriers. C'est le cas du *travail par commandite* où le comité d'atelier prend le travail à un prix déterminé par objet ou section d'objet fabriqué ; la firme fournit tout le matériel, l'emplacement de l'atelier, les outils et équipements nécessaires, le comité embauche lui-même la main-d'œuvre, paie les salaires et dirige les ouvriers ; il est absolument autonome, libre d'utiliser les procédés qui lui conviennent, pourvu qu'il remplisse les conditions du contrat et fournisse la quantité de produit promise ; avec le travail par commandite, le patron est réduit au rôle de commerçant et de financier, les ouvriers associés devenant les véritables industriels et retrouvant par l'action collective le travail intéressant qu'ils avaient perdu individuellement.

### III.

Nous venons, au cours de ces recherches, d'élaborer tout un programme d'action (organisation scientifique du travail, fusion syndicale pour élever les salaires, réduction de la durée du travail, éducation, contrôle ouvrier), en vue de réduire les obstacles qui s'opposent au développement de la vie spirituelle chez l'ouvrier. Nous devons cependant en conclusion noter que ce programme ne constitue en réalité qu'un palliatif ; toutes les améliorations indiquées sont partiellement insuffisantes, elles doivent à chaque instant être arrachées par les syndicats ouvriers à la classe adverse, elles supposent un combat de tous les instants pour conquérir, puis pour conserver quelques avantages ; en un mot elles impliquent le fait fondamental de la *lutte des classes*. En outre, si ces mesures améliorent le sort des ouvriers, elles laissent entières les conditions de vie qui s'opposent à la vie spirituelle chez les chefs d'entreprise : réclame éhontée, concurrence brutale, absorption de toute la personnalité de l'industriel dans ses affaires, tout cela subsiste. C'est que, si l'on veut aller au cœur du problème, si l'on veut vraiment supprimer les conditions qui font obstacle au

développement de notre personnalité spirituelle, c'est à tout notre système économique et social qu'il faut s'attaquer ; tant que l'industrie sera dirigée en vue du *profit* individuel, tant que les chefs d'entreprise chercheront à fournir des dividendes à leurs actionnaires, au lieu de servir la communauté, les mêmes difficultés subsisteront, les mêmes problèmes continueront à se poser. C'est donc toute une transformation sociale qui nous semble nécessaire, toute une réorganisation de la vie industrielle ; afin de remplacer le système individualiste et capitaliste actuel par une organisation collectiviste et socialiste.

## **The Human Cost of Industry : Some Illustrations.**

By MARY A. DINGMAN.

“ Asia is now in the beginning of a great industrial revolution. Such an industrial revolution in the middle of the eighteenth century from 1760 to 1832 gradually transformed rural England into a manufacturing country. In the nineteenth century it extended over Europe and America. In the twentieth century it has entered the Orient as a terrific invasion. ”

In China one can see all stages of this great change going on simultaneously before one's very eyes. There is no need to search through historical documents to see how spinning and weaving were done with simple hand tools. Walk down a narrow street and you will hear the click of the loom or the whirr of the primitive tool used in carding wool. A little farther on you may be able to enter a broader street where a large modern factory equipped with the most modern machinery from the West roars for twenty hours out of the twenty-four. So rapidly is yarn and cloth being produced in these great mills that the demand of the home market in China, once largely supplied by hand work and the mills in Lancashire, is now being supplied by these modern methods.

### **The Industrial Revolution and Its Effects.**

What are the effects upon individuals and society when changes in the methods of supplying economic needs take place with such rapidity and without plan or social control? Every student of history knows them, but when one sees these effects registered in women and children and in family life the bare historical statements take on living reality.

Modern industrialism has always brought crowding into cities. This means bad housing conditions and the consequent deplorable effects on family life, health and morality. Mr. M. T. Tchon, a well-known industrial worker in Shanghai, has made an investigation into these conditions and reports that “ while industry has expanded and factories multiplied, unfortunately the social



needs of the masses have been neglected. Owing to the absence of adequate housing provision, to the high cost of land and buildings and to the high return on housing investments, the working masses have been crowded into horrible slums the equal of which has never been seen in the Western world, nor in China in past generations except in abnormal times of famines, floods and similar calamities ”.

### **The Break-Up of the Family.**

As is well-known, the family is the social unit in China and holds society together. Modern industry tends to disintegrate the family, for it takes the mother out of the home for long weary hours and in the cotton mills every two weeks she spends twelve hours each night at the factory. If, as often happens, there is no one with whom to leave the children, she takes them to the mill with her. Babies asleep or toddling about are a common sight in a silk filature or a cotton mill. There being no effective laws, the children begin to work as soon as they can tie knots or stand over the basins of boiling water, rapidly stirring the cocoons from which comes the raw silk many of us may be wearing. After the long hours of machine labour the mother trudges home to do the house-work. You can imagine how little sleep she gets after the night of work! If she is a weaver tending two looms she will not work a complete night shift, but the raucous whistle will call her to work about four-thirty or five-thirty in the morning, and she will weave standing up until eight or nine o'clock at night, with perhaps two short breaks of fifteen minutes each. And if only each Sunday were really a day of rest it would help, but two rest days a month are the most she can hope for. It does not take much imagination to see what is the effect of these conditions on home life.

### **Women and Children in the Factory.**

To one who has seen the little children at work it is a sight never to be forgotten. The Report of the Child Labour Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council says of the children in the silk filatures “ In the main they present a pitiable sight. Their physical condition is poor, and their faces are devoid of any expression of happiness or well-being. They appear to be miserable both physically and mentally... The Commission is satisfied that the conditions under which these children are employed are indefensible ”.

Accidents are common, especially on the night shifts. for this modern machinery is not supplied with all the guards required by legislation in the West. Legal accident compensation is unknown, and workers are crippled for life and little or no money is paid.

In a report from a Chinese city are these words : " The strain of modern factory life which has taken the place of the quiet secluded Chinese family life is now apparent in the breakdown of health. Seven girls under twenty years of age have died of tuberculosis in the last five months. They all began work in the factories when they were seven, eight or nine years old. Two had worked as long as seven years, quite steadily as far as can be ascertained. There are at present many cases of tuberculosis so far advanced that the girls cannot go to work, and there are also some who know they have it but financial pressure keeps them at their work. In this only actually known cases are cited. "

For fear there will seem to be exaggeration in the above description of factory conditions, the following is quoted from a trade paper. After explaining that the profits of the X... Cotton-spinning Factory had again surpassed \$1,000,000 (Mex) and giving the low wages of the 2,500 workers, the writer goes on to say : " The working hours are from 5.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. and from 5.30 p.m. to 5.30 a.m. respectively. No meals are supplied by the factory. Most of the cotton used is produced locally, and the factory is able to turn out about 7,000 piculs monthly of coarse yarn, chiefly No. 10. It will be seen that the company is in an exceptionally favourable position. With the raw product at their doors, an abundant and absurdly cheap labour supply to draw on, and no vexatious factory laws to observe, it is not surprising that their annual profits should have exceeded their total capital on at least three occasions. "

### A Woman Student's Impressions.

Students take a keen interest in all these questions. One young woman went and worked in a factory for two weeks, and she gives her impressions of this experience as follows :

" I think factory women are not treated like persons, because they have to work such long hours. They do not have a place to eat and to drink. They do not have time to clean themselves. They do not have time to take care of their children. They do not have enough time to eat their meal and to sleep.

" When the work period was over they were so tired. Some-

times they were almost sick, yet then they still must go home to cook, to wash and to darn things for their husbands and children. Their health gets worse and worse. They spend their thoughts on nothing than making money, because they do not know how to spend their thoughts on any other things.

"Women's industrial work in China needs to be greatly improved. They should make the working hours much shorter than twelve. They should have a good place for the women to eat and drink, and they should give them enough time to eat and to rest every day. They should give the women a chance to read. They should have trained women managers, to look after such places as the dining-room, working-room, rest-room and toilet etc. The women managers will understand the women workers much better than men, and they could help the women much more than the man manager."

With conditions as outlined above prevailing, it is not difficult to understand the ready response given to Communist teachings, and the rapid growth of trades unionism in the large industrial cities. The Christians in China are being forced to grapple with these great questions, because they are charged by the Anti-Christian Group with being imperialistic and capitalistic. Fortunately the National Christian Council has an active Committee on Christianizing Economic Relations and, while this article is being written, a National Conference on this important subject is in session and is facing fearlessly and frankly these fundamental issues. Perhaps out of the fiery furnace of the East is being moulded leadership so freed from dross and so fired by the spirit of sacrifice that they will lead the West to fresh vision and devotion.



## Backward Races — Trusteeship or Exploitation.

By JOHN H. HARRIS.

Nobody can look upon the great world of Backward Races without realising the immensity of the struggles which are taking place. Amongst these struggles there are, from several points of view, none more far-reaching than the problems involved in the right to produce the raw material required for the factories and the trading centres of civilisation. The mass of the consuming public goes idly along its easy path of contentment, indifferent to the fierce human struggle of backward races to secure and hold *the right to produce*. How many of the millions of consumers ever stop to think of the coloured worker who gives them to-day the wealth and the luxuries beyond the dreams of their ancestors? Not one per cent ever gives a thought to the question.

### What We Owe to the "Backward Races".

There is gold — gold won from the bowels of the earth, nearly a mile below the surface, gold won at great hazard to life and health. Since the task commenced of winning gold in South Africa in 1884, the "reef of Jo'burg" has given the world nearly £1,000,000,000 worth of gold. In 1884 a small quantity of 2,500 ozs. worth £10,000 was secured. Five years later the output was £1,500,000. In 1905 the export of gold had leapt to £20,000,000, and twenty years later again it has passed a record figure of £41,000,000. This flow of gold has been maintained by 200,000 native and "coloured" and 15,000 white workers. ("Coloured" in South Africa, means half-castes.)

Then there is sugar, of which the world consumes some £400,000,000 worth every year. In round figures, beetroot provides £200,000,000 and sugar cane £200,000,000. The former owes its origin to the Napoleonic wars, and is the product of the white races. The latter, from sugar cane, is the product of coloured labour. Allied to sugar is cocoa, of which the world consumes about £25,000,000 worth of beans.

In an entirely different category comes rubber, of which the world uses 450,000 tons, worth, say £100,000,000. Then there is cotton for the spindles, vegetable oils for soap, spices for sweetmeats, fibres for ropes, coconuts for "butter", making together an ever broadening river of tropical and sub-tropical products flowing along its steady and unbroken course to the factories, shops and homes of the consuming millions in the more temperate zones of the world. How essential, how vital is this flow, is shown by two simple illustrations. Let the value of rubber ex-plantations be taken at £100,000,000. Now let that same rubber be valued in the form of motor tyres, and lo! it has become £400,000,000. The difference of £300,000,000 represents white industry in a hundred forms, shipping, insurance, transport, cleansing, marketing, etc. etc. Take cocoa. The value of the raw cocoa bean is £30 per ton, and sugar for sweetening it say £60. Then there are tropical spices for flavouring, and nuts, and tinfoil for wrapping, and all the mysteries which go to the making of the delightful packages of sweetmeats — say £100 a ton for the tropical raw material. The shops of the streets of London and New York and of the Boulevards of Paris display the "finished product" at the rate of £400 per ton. Again 75 per cent of the sale value, as with rubber, represents the white man's share of the finished article.

The first feature to grasp is that none of these products can be produced by white labour. The white man can teach, can direct, can instruct, can purchase, but the thing he cannot do is to *produce* — the climate forbids! It is the indigenous inhabitant who, in the main, blasts the rock, climbs the towering palm trees, hews down and clears the forests, and harvests the spices and rubber of the tropics.

### The Native as Producer.

Can the natives of Africa and the Orient provide the raw material which civilisation requires? The answer is most effectively made by quoting demonstrable facts.

The most romantic illustration of native capacity to produce is found in the Gold Coast Colony of West Africa. In the year 1891 a native gathered a tiny harvest of cocoa beans weighing 80 lbs and worth £4. His example fired the ambition of the 2,000,000 natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, and within fifteen years the 80 lbs export had reached 25,000,000 lbs, worth £3,500,000. In another fifteen years that original 80 lbs had

reached the astounding figure of 500,000,000 lbs weight of cocoa, whilst the value of £4 in 1891 had grown to close upon £10,000,000. Every ton of that cocoa was grown by natives on farms not one acre of which is owned by white Plantation companies. There is really nothing quite so romantic in the Colonial world as this enterprise of the natives of the Gold Coast Colony.

The second illustration is upon rubber production in Dutch Java. The British owned companies had adopted the principle of restricting their output and withholding rubber from the market. The natives of Java seized the opportunity and so increased the output of native-grown rubber that they nullified the "Ca'canny" policy of the British companies. In 1914 the native output had represented only 7.7 per cent of the exports, but in 1923, so vigorous had been the native output that it had increased to 37.9 of the exports, whilst, as Mr. Bluett, the British Consul, said,

"The native rubber industry and those whose gardens have been producing for a considerable time are already wealthy. It is, in fact, no uncommon occurrence to see natives who a few years ago had not a rag to their backs now driving from village to village in Ford cars."

### Where Conflict Occurs.

The natives of Africa and East and West Indies are everywhere struggling to produce in their own interests, and are thus setting up a conflict with the white plantation owners. In Uganda the struggle is over cotton, in Kenya it is coffee, in Tanganyika it is again coffee, in West Africa it is vegetable oil, in the islands of the sea it is copra and rubber. The white plantation owners see that their only chance of winning this struggle is by depriving the native of the ownership of his land, for it is only by depriving the native of his land, that he will be forced to become a wage earner rather than a peasant proprietor. The white man's attitude was never more truly, albeit brutally, expressed than by Lord Delamere, the Kenya settler, when he said:

"If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a landholder of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labour supply would never be settled."

Fortunately, British policy is now strongly set in the opposite direction, and was well summarised by the "Times"<sup>1</sup> in the following remarkable passage:

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<sup>1</sup> March 22nd, 1927.



"...It is now a cardinal feature of British tropical rule to secure to the natives sufficient lands upon which to live and multiply in order that they may not be driven to work for wages merely because they have no other means of livelihood."

The foregoing states briefly the agrarian claim of the natives to produce vegetable raw material. — What of the other part of the problem, namely, the right to industrial advancement?

General Smuts has, in an arresting sentence, summed up the industrial struggle which is gathering bitter momentum in South Africa :

"A year ago I warned the Union Government that the effects of their policy would not stop in South Africa but would provoke a world's conflict."

### Legislation as the White Man's Weapon.

This conflict began with the early Dutch settlement in South Africa and the enunciation of the infamous doctrine — "there can be no equality in Church or State between white and black" — a doctrine enunciated by the original Dutch settlers and now elevated to a veritable tyranny by the white Trade Unions of South Africa. The first definite step was taken in 1911, under the Mines and Works Act of South Africa. In that year regulations were issued which debarred all natives and men of colour from the sphere of skilled labourers. They could dig the earth with spades, but they could not put their hands to a "machine digger"; they could be stokers, but not engine drivers, they could be scavengers, but they could not be carpenters. In short, they could be Gibeonites, they could not be free men in their own country!

In 1923, the regulations in question were challenged in the Supreme Court of South Africa, and the natives won a great victory, the Judge declaring that the regulations would deprive the natives of enjoying the fruits of their advancement, and that the regulations were *ultra vires*. At this stage, political considerations became dominant in the shape of a demand made by the Labour wing of General Hertzog's Coalition, for legislation making the law of the land what the Supreme Court had declared "repugnant", "oppressive" and *ultra vires*. The Colour Bar Bill was placed on the Statute book by a decision taken in May 1926 through the adoption of the exceptional procedure of uniting in single debate and session both the Senate and the

Assembly of South Africa. Lord Olivier, commenting upon this, says :

“ This direct dependence of the white worker’s very high wages (the highest in the Old World) upon the very low wages of the native labourer is the secret of the philosophy of the industrial colour bar, extensively applied previously in practice, and recently embodied in legislation at the demand of the white South African Labour Party. That party is now firmly established as a section of the European aristocracy of South Africa<sup>1</sup>. ”

General Smuts is of the opinion that a world conflict will be precipitated if the type of legislation is continued which now stains the Statute Book of South Africa. That the conflict is impending none would deny ; that it can be averted is equally true, but whether or not the world is to be saved from a racial war, will be decided by the forces behind sane reforms.

### The Decision Before Us.

The first essential is to clear our minds upon the question of racial relationships. If the more civilised nations hold to the obsolete forms of dominant Imperialism which implies *possession*, then nothing can avert a bloody racial clash, the end of which none can foresee. A loyal acceptance of the principle of *Trusteeship* for the weaker peoples is the only policy which will keep peace amongst the races and in fact provide for the material prosperity of both advanced and backward peoples. The doctrine of *Trusteeship* as set forth in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, reads as follows :

“ To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. ”

If it be asked “ Where is the practical interpretation of *Trusteeship* ”, it is to be found in the despatch of the Duke of Devonshire to the Kenya Government, namely, that where the interests of the immigrant races come into conflict with the interests of the native inhabitants, the interests of the native peoples must be dominant. That principle is an entirely safe guide in all questions

<sup>1</sup> The Anatomy of African Misery.

affecting native races. If the principle set forth by the Duke of Devonshire had been applied to South Africa, a colour bar Act would never have been passed, nor would 10,000 whites have claimed to place the shackles of serfdom upon the necks of 200,000 natives, — the right and just course would have been to lay down the qualification upon which coloured or native mechanics could enter the protective circle of the Trade Unions.

It follows that *Trusteeship* would give to the indigenous inhabitants prior right to land, and thereby the right to produce tropical and sub-tropical raw material for the factories of the white races. The most extraordinary feature which emerges in this part of the problem is that so few white men seem capable of grasping the fact that native production is not merely better for the natives, but also for the white men; volume is greater and cost of production lower.

The best land system in any of the Colonies is to be found in Nigeria. This policy lays down three main principles — (a) all land, whether occupied or not (at the time of the Proclamation) is native land, (b) no alienation of land can take place outside the circumference of native law and custom, (c) the Governor, in the capacity of Trustee, is the protector of all land rights. As native law and custom precludes the alienation of ownership, it is only possible for white men to obtain leases of land which are subject to periodic revision. The native community is the collective landlord, thus all production is potentially in the hands of those who alone can till the soil.

"What" it may be asked, "is the relationship of Government to labour?" In the first place, the duty of the Government is to govern; the recruitment of labour has nothing whatever to do with administrative officials. Any interference by Government officials with the supply of labour is bound to lead to trouble; however much the officials try to help white men by using administrative machinery to obtain labour, they will fall short of desire and expose themselves to criticism. Whatever effort is made by white officials in this direction will bring the administration into disrepute. The only safe course is to leave severely alone any appearance of labour recruiting by Government for private persons.

### Education in Production.

But as Trustee the Government has a constructive duty, and that is to interpret its legitimate function of education so as to



include education in production. The native usually knows nothing of plant and animal diseases, the question of suitable fertilisers, the rotation of economic crops. In this sphere there is ample scope for administrative activity. Most governments now provide a staff of agricultural experts, who advise natives upon the production and marketing of their crops, and thereby raise the standard of living amongst the people. Certain governments have created Native Trust Boards, whose duty it is to assist natives by providing drinking wells and dipping tanks for the cattle.

The paramount duty of public opinion is to see to it that governments keep true to the doctrine of Trusteeship, then every administrative activity will find its legitimate niche. This is the only royal road to contentment, prosperity, and thereby — security.

# Industrial Problems in Japan

By SHUICHI HARADA.

Capitalism, by which is meant the modern form of the economic and industrial system, shows many differences in the stages of its development and in the environment in which it grows. Employers and employees alike live within the capitalist system, but their actions and reactions to what are generally known as "industrial relations" are characterised by their concepts of the economic situation of which they are a part, and determined by social and political forces which are influential in directing their conduct.

## Capitalism in Japan.

It is not more than fifty years since capitalism began to take root in Japan. Unlike the experiments in the western countries, Japanese capitalism has never passed through the period of "laissez faire"; but, has developed, from the beginning up to the present, under highly protective policies and the efficient leadership of the Government, transforming, within a phenomenally short period, feudal agricultural Japan into a country built upon a complicated industrial system. Governmental protection and leadership in the development of the industrial life of Japan have not yet decreased, and they must be duly considered in examining the prospect for the improvement of industrial relations.

The outline of the internal structure of the industrial life of Japan may be presented in the following statistical data. In 1924, capital investments and reserve funds of corporations and partnerships in industry, mining and transport (excluding the State Railway system) were reported to have reached 5,566,748,000 yen. In the same year the amount of bills cleared throughout Japan slightly exceeded 83,582,000,000 yen. There were in 1926, 4,690,000 workers in factories, mines and in the transport industry (casual workers included). The factory workers alone numbered 2,098,000. Railroad mileage extended to 10,414 miles in 1924, and sea transport counted 4,827,000 tons of merchant marine in 1925. The total imports and exports for the year 1925 reached 4,938,383,000 yen. The aggregate value of industrial products in 1923 was estimated at 5,978,000,000 yen, more than twice

that of the agricultural products, which only amounted to 2,725,000,000 yen. Although the peasant class contains about one half the entire population and is approximately two and a half times the industrial population, Japan is an industrial country so far as her economic life is concerned.

In spite of this extraordinary growth in the economic life of Japan, there is already a group of people who take a pessimistic view in regard to future development under the present economic system. The severe industrial depression since 1920 — the rise of the unemployment problem not only among the working class, but also among the intellectual class — has given rise to scepticism with regard to the present economic order and the possibilities of capitalism in Japan. The financial crisis in April, 1927, involving the failure of large mercantile houses and the closing of important banks, resulting in the promulgation of an ordinance for a "three weeks' moratorium", further spread doubt among the public, and deepened their conviction of the shortcomings of the present economic order. Some people go to the extreme of saying that Japanese capitalism has reached the last stage of development, and is doomed to result in an early downfall; but the line of thought thus expressed is extremely speculative, following the Marxian type of economic interpretation of history, disregarding the stages of its development, and totally ignoring the economic political and social conditions in which the system has its roots.

### The Attitude of the Student Class.

The current thought of the proletarian class during the period of 1919 to 1923 was extremely radical, under the influence of "Anarcho-Syndicalism". From 1923 on, however, the Right Wing or Reformists began to gain power. The extension of the franchise to all men over twenty-five years of age, thereby increasing the electoral votes from 3,500,000 to approximately 13,000,000, and the achievement of progressive labour legislation as a result of Japan's participation in the International Labour Conference since 1918, gave the proletarian class hope of ameliorating labour conditions and eliminating the evils inherent in capitalism by political and economic activities. The rise of the Right Wing by no means indicates the extermination of the radical group. On the contrary, side by side with the Right Wing, radicalism still remains a power, influencing the younger element of the Japanese population. The courageous experiments of Soviet Russia and the humanitarian appeal for which communism



stands cannot fail to influence the younger generation, especially college and university students. The extreme viewpoints entertained by some students may be illustrated by the incident of the arrest of some of their number in 1925. Since the "Gakusei Shakai Kagaku Kenkyukai" (Students' Association for the Study of Social Science) was organised in 1923, the interest of college students in the study of radical thought, which was not dealt with in their classroom lectures, has markedly increased. They have also participated in actual labour and social movements by helping in workers' educational activities and launching an anti-militarist movement. Some of them have gone so far as to link themselves to a section of the revolutionary movement. On December 1st, 1925, thirty-eight students from several of the leading colleges and universities were arrested on account of a radical plot to institute communism in Japan. Some of them were adjudged guilty upon trial in court.

### The New Doctrine of Mass Production.

Different views as to the future of capitalism and the programme for the institution of a new economic and political order divide radicalists from reformists. It is essential, therefore, to look into some characteristics of the modern form of capitalism in general and particularly that of Japan.

Although the early downfall of capitalism was predicted by socialists and syndicalists, it has survived by assuming the corporate form of organisation on the one hand, and arming itself with labour and social legislation on the other. In the last few years, world-wide attention has been directed to the American type of industrial system, viz. mass production, application of efficient machines, scientific management, standardisation and the elimination of waste; or, in other words, the concentration of all available forces on higher productivity. Already many countries are adopting these principles to rejuvenate a flagging industrialism, and it would seem that the industrial life of the world will appear in the near future very different from what we see it to-day. The form of capitalism is undergoing constant evolution, adjusting itself to its changing environment. We cannot subscribe to the idea that capitalism is doomed to end its life in the present form. Furthermore, the modern economic life of any country is a part of international economics, and the down-fall of the capitalist world as a whole will not occur in a single year.

The economic characteristics of Japan present many peculiar aspects as compared to those of other countries. Japan's industrial system is so closely connected with international economics that she cannot live in seclusion from the rest of the world. Both for the procuring of raw materials and for the disposal of manufactured articles, Japan depends upon foreign countries. The textile industry is the largest in volume of production and number of workers employed, but for her entire supply of raw cotton Japan depends upon the United States, India and China. Wool comes from Australia and flax is imported from China, the Philippine Islands and British India. For her supply of sugar Japan is dependent upon Java and Dutch India, for iron ore upon China and India; while over 60 per cent of the oil consumed is imported from the United States, Dutch India and Borneo. The value of imported raw materials in 1925 amounted to 58 per cent of the total imports. These imported raw materials are worked up in factories, and then a large percentage of each product is exported to foreign countries. The value of industrial products entering into the export trade amounted to approximately 25 per cent of the total production of the manufacturing industry. Approximately 40 per cent of the factory workers in 19 major industries depend largely upon foreign markets, while 23 per cent exclusively depend upon overseas trade. Thus the industrial development of Japan hinges upon her ability to control raw materials and foreign markets.

### Difficulties That Japan Has to Face.

Due to this dependence upon foreign countries, Japanese industries lack stability. Foreign markets are easily disturbed by competition, by the appearance of substitutes, changing fashions, the financial policy of the government and political disturbances. This instability is not the only adverse situation in which Japanese workers find themselves, but their welfare is constantly threatened by the actual and potential over-supply of labour. The present population, which exceeds 60,000,000, is large enough in a small country like Japan, and yet it is increasing by more than 900,000 annually. The countries which offer attractions to prospective emigrants shut their doors closely against Japan. Birth-control, even if it were freely advocated, would not keep down the population in the near future to such an extent as to relieve Japan from this pressure. The natural growth of population and migration of tenant farmers from

rural districts to industrial centres constantly fill up the reservoir of the labour supply. They must be fed, and trade must be found. This is a serious situation, and the nation as a whole is questioning whether or not industry in Japan can develop fast enough to absorb the ever-increasing labour supply. The present situation requires the co-operation and the concerted action of the whole nation on the single aim of higher productivity. The question of production has a more important and socially significant meaning in Japan than that of distribution.

### **Is Communism a Solution ?**

Communism appeals to our humanitarian urge, but will it, if applied in Japan, insure higher productivity and speedy economic development? In the revolutionary period and years of reconstruction in the Soviet Union, production has fallen off, foreign trade has decreased and industrial development has ceased ; but as Russia is an agricultural country she has been able to feed her people through years of economic disturbance and international economic blockade. She could invite foreign capital by offering rich natural resources as concessions, and the adoption of the famous New Economic Policy was possible. But can Japan expect the same result? Japan can no longer live on agriculture alone. Speedy industrial development to give employment to the increasing population is a pressing need, while she is short of capital and raw materials. Unless free trade, free immigration and international control of natural resources are secured, and unless the new economic order is adopted in all industrial countries, Japan cannot by herself keep on experiments in a new economic order such as the Soviet Union has undertaken. Both of these conditions are unlikely to occur in the near future. The economic conditions in Japan convince us that she cannot take the initiative in introducing a new economic order, but that she has to follow the lead of others. What, then, is the prospect for an improvement of industrial relations? To answer this question we must enquire into the attitude of the Government and the employers.

### **Labour Legislation and Paternalism.**

The attitude of the Government toward labour is markedly sympathetic. Although strikes and trade unions are not legalised, they are publicly recognised institutions and are freely taken



advantage of by the labouring class. On the other hand, the achievement of progressive labour legislation within such a short period promises a bright future. In 1921 the Employment Exchange Act was promulgated, which in 1922 was followed by the Health Insurance Act (Health Insurance was put into operation in July, 1926, and in its full extent in January, 1927). In 1923, the Factory Act and the Mining Act were amended, very favourably for the labour class. In 1926, the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act was promulgated; and Articles 17 and 30 of the Police Act were abolished, removing obstacles to the development of the labour movement. Regulations for Factory Dormitories were promulgated in 1927. The achievement of such progressive labour legislation was possible through the sympathetic attitude of the public to the proletarian class and the absence of strong opposition on the part of employers.

Employers in Japan are still influenced by the ideal of paternalism, which has come down from the feudal period. They do not look upon the labouring class as a class irreconcilable with the capitalists. Thus, in spite of their hostile attitude to trades unions and strikes, they pay wages, in many cases, to strikers during a strike period; and pay the strike expenses in lump sums, while discharged workers, although dismissed on account of strikes, receive money in the form of an unemployment relief fund. Sixty-five per cent of the women workers live in factory dormitories, and employers subsidise a large percentage of the dormitory expenses. Expenses of field days and picnics are usually borne by the employer. As these practices reveal, the employers' attitude toward labour, though fast evolving towards that of their western brothers, is still in the early stage of evolution, the view that paternalism can alleviate labour unrest. They have not yet learned to unite in order to resist the encroachment of labour, and thus there is a basis for co-operation between capital and labour for the improvement of industrial relations.

A closer examination of the economic situation in Japan and the past achievements of the proletarian class convince us then that the prospect for an improvement of industrial relations is not to be found in the abrupt application of a new economic order, as the radical group proposes, but rather in the reform policies, viz., through the power of organised labour and its political activities. And, in fact, the modern trend of the proletarian movement in Japan seems to be in this direction.

## **Industrial Revolution by Consent.**

By MALCOLM SPARKES.

On a brilliant summer's day just thirty years ago — a great naval review was held at Spithead in honour of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Down the imposing line of battleships, drawn up to welcome the Queen, there came a tiny vessel driven at a pace so furious that an eyewitness described the sight as a long flying splash with a red flame at the heart of it. This was the little *Turbinia*, with Charles Parsons aboard of her, steaming at the then incredible speed of 35 knots in order to demonstrate the prodigious capacity of his new steam Turbine engines. The incident marked the beginning of an epoch-making advance in steam engineering. Within a few years, Parson's steam Turbines captured the Atlantic record in the *Mauretania* and found their way into hundreds of great ships and power stations throughout the world. To-day his famous little experimental vessel is being placed in the National Museum at South Kensington in recognition of an outstanding technical achievement.

Stories of this kind are very significant. Industrial history teems with them, and in view of this it is not enough to say that the driving force behind all industry and commerce is merely the hope of dividends for ordinary shareholders. Such a statement simply fails to cover the ground. To get a well balanced grasp of our Industrial problems, therefore, we must certainly endeavour to approach them from a new angle.

### **The Creative Impulse as an Industrial Factor.**

It is rather curious that in nearly every discussion of this question it is taken almost for granted that there are only two alternative motives for industry — the motive of private gain and the motive of public service. The former is generally rejected by idealists, whilst the latter is held to involve such complete reorganisation of our current industrial practice in the matter of ownership and control that acute controversy is inevitable.

The really big driving force in modern industry, however, is not wholly the hope of profit nor the love of service, although

these are certainly present. Bigger than either of these is the creative impulse — the indomitable determination of pioneers to do big things and do them well — the spirit that lives for achievement and asks no greater reward. The Parsons Turbine — the Diesel Oil Engine, the Cunard Steamship Company, these great achievements — to say nothing of a thousand others — all bear the names of the pioneers whose skill and courage brought them to man's estate. They are not the result of industry organised for gain — they were achieved in spite of it. They owe far more to the freedom that gave them birth than to the capitalist control under which they have incidentally grown up. If this be true, our central task is to discover the ideal conditions for this mighty freedom; to preserve and develop it and to give it, if we can, a new conception of its industrial purpose. I have used the word "purpose" rather than "method" advisedly. The controversy about industrial method will never end. State Socialism, Guild Socialism, Co-operation, Copartnership, Distributivism — all these and many others have their devotees, and indeed, life would be much poorer without this rich diversity. But behind it all, I believe it might be possible to reach a great measure of agreement as to the *purpose* of industry and to state it clearly in a form that we could use to test industrial methods. If we can do this, then the supreme method for each type of industry will soon emerge from the experimental work of pioneers.

### The True Purpose of Industry.

The real purpose of all industry and commerce is surely, *to enrich the community* — not only in wealth but in character — to build men as well as goods. To enrich the community is a very much bigger conception than merely to serve it. In fact it is just this quality of progressive development that is the big thing about it and differentiates the modern scientifically organised industry from hand labour. Rightly interpreted it lifts Industry and Commerce to their rightful place as the greatest of all services — the finest of all professions. Many pages would be needed to set out all its implications fully. A few points therefore must suffice.

In the first place, it throws such a flood of light upon the baffling wages question that this deserves some special attention. It makes it now transparently clear that the real business of industrial administration is to raise wages and lower prices — without impairing the quality of the product — and to do this



in ways that will stimulate and not retard the development of character. Its central task is to enrich the community by organised scientific service that grows two ears of corn in the place of one — develops more horse-power per ton of coal — more car miles per gallon of motor spirit — makes every process and operation more and still more productive. That is the supreme test of its efficiency — the justification of its claim to remuneration — the price of its freedom. To lower wages is a confession of failure and an injury to the community. Only administration of this character can really be “the servant of all<sup>1</sup>”.

To men and women of keen imagination and creative mind, there is something about this new doctrine that is extraordinary stimulating and attractive.

Although it seems so obvious it is far more revolutionary than many of the proposals that are usually declared to be “red”. It is in fact a complete challenge to the industrial traditions that have held almost indisputed sway for over a century.

### The Fallacy of the Old Economics.

In the past our Industry and Commerce have been developed on the principle of “buying cheap and selling dear”. We were taught from our infancy that the first rule of the game — in its crudest form — was to buy everything, including Labour, at the lowest price that the seller could be driven to accept rather than starve — and to sell the product at the highest figure that the buying public could be induced to pay rather than go without.

The working out of this rule was called “The Law of Supply and Demand” and so sanctified did it become through incessant repetition that it was almost universally mistaken for the truth and is still regarded as if it were an immutable law of Nature, like gravitation or centrifugal force.

I submit that it is not a law of Nature at all but simply a stupid theory that has no moral foundation — no adventurous appeal — no common sense — no single attractive feature to make it worthy of human nature. It is, moreover, a *gigantic mistake* for which we have paid the most terrible price in human suffering and ill will.

The central miscalculation in the rule of buying cheap and selling dear, lies in the assumption that the rule applies not only to goods but to Labour, and this is held to justify low wages.

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<sup>1</sup> Mark X. 43.

The mistake becomes evident the moment we consider the personnel of the buying public. In common speech "the public" is normally regarded as if it were entirely outside the boundaries of productive industry and commerce and, in fact, did nothing but buy goods. The broad truth of the matter however, is simply that the buying public comprises the whole of the employers and employees taken together, and no policy that does not aim directly at an increase of their purchasing power is of the slightest avail. *To lower real wages is to destroy customers — to raise them is to create new markets.*

But that is not all. The century old doctrine that employers must buy their labour cheap and sell the product dear, laid the foundations upon which the whole of our present industrial unrest is based. Its ruthless exploitation of men, women and children produced the Trade Union Movement. Parallel with this and in direct opposition to it came the rise of the Associations of employers. These two developments have now culminated in the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress on the one side and the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers Organisations on the other — the great class struggle foretold by Marx and his followers. Again and again in recent years have we seen Industry brought almost to a standstill by devastating stoppages on an ever increasing scale. There is a constant cry for industrial peace — for some plan of compulsory arbitration to put an end to this nightmare. But peace will not come that way. The only sure road is to be found in the complete reversal of those mistaken ideas that have poisoned our industrial relations for so long. The old struggle of Employers against employed must be transformed into the far finer and more stimulating struggle of industry united to master the forces of Nature.

### **The True Policy: Increase Production and Lower Costs.**

Every productive improvement must be marked by a rise in wages and a fall in prices — and this means a new economic policy both for the administrative and the operative sections. The programme at first sight is almost paradoxical, but its very audacity is its chief attraction to the mind of the pioneer.

To raise wages and lower prices will be exceedingly difficult — especially at first. But not always impossible. It must begin at a point where an industrial undertaking is steadily expanding and where the ratio of overheads to wages is steadily falling.

In such conditions it is possible to increase the wage rate without raising the price, or lowering the normal margin of profit.

The moment that this new wage policy is fully understood there will be an increase in efficiency that will make it possible to reduce prices. Lower prices will instantly mean bigger sales, which in turn will bring lower unit costs and higher wages again. Before long this vigorous policy will be widely copied, with the result that wage advances will take place over a large section of the industrial field.

This will create a large body of new customers and make it possible to raise wages in trades that reap the benefit of their purchases. And so it will go on — in ever widening circles that finally absorb the unemployed and raise the whole standard of living to new levels.

Some may possibly fear that the quest for efficiency may become too ruthless and that the consequent mechanisation and mass production may tend to destroy men's individuality and reduce them to mere cogs enmeshed in a vast machine. There is undoubtedly an element of danger here which must neither be brushed aside as of no account nor magnified until it becomes a spectre to scare the less adventurous.

### **“ Mechanisation ” — Is it Inevitable ?**

It only arises where the full implications of the new policy are imperfectly grasped. Properly understood — the development of mechanical efficiency will mean that pieces of work that do not need intelligent control will be transferred more and more to the care of automatic machinery, and as production increases, it will be possible and advisable to reduce the number of hours in the normal day's work.

This is of course equivalent to an advance in real wages and, although it may retard the speed at which the money wages can be raised, it is particularly desirable in view of the great advantages that will arise from a widespread increase of leisure. Foremost amongst these advantages will come the development of handicraft.

The craftsman today looks to the industrial worker to buy his beautiful wares, but looks almost in vain. The worker's wages are still far too low to permit him to buy handmade things, and in consequence the market for such articles is very restricted. But with the coming of high wages all this will be revolutionised. The increased productivity of industry will create new markets



for the craftsman, for the money earned in the manufacture of the works of science will be available to buy the works of art. The two things are not rivals — the one is a necessary corollary to the other.

There is nothing miraculous about this. The whole plan is full of sound common sense, and calls for strenuous purpose, high courage and love of adventure. It is a strong virile policy that needs above all the enthusiastic support of the young, keen and alert minds that abound in modern industry, but are often held in check by its obsolete traditions, *and it cannot do without them*. Rightly developed it is the great peacemaker in industry. It is this because it takes no thought of peace but goes *all out* to serve the community by uniting for a great constructive purpose the very forces that are now wasting themselves in sterile opposition.

### The Industrial Councils and Their Work.

Our central problem, therefore, is to find an instrument that will stimulate the development of industrial opinion along new lines and do it in the shortest possible time. A bad idea can only be conquered by a better one. The old mistaken traditions of cheap labour and high prices must be left behind by a far more adventurous and attractive plan, that will arouse the enthusiasm of pioneers both administrative and operative. Fortunately in Great Britain we already have the framework of the instrument we need in the network of Industrial Councils that were set up in most industries soon after the war. These Councils, which are representatives of the employers and operatives in each industry, have already done much valuable work, but have been greatly handicapped by the fact that in nearly every case they undertake the settlement of disputes. The moment an Industrial Council meets to consider a trade dispute it completely changes its character and becomes a mere Board of Conciliation. One side has made a demand of the other, and both have taken up positions from which it is not easy to recede without apparent weakness.

For the purposes we have in view it is therefore essential that our Industrial Councils shall be constructive and nothing but constructive, and that the settlement of disputes shall be completely excluded from their scope, and dealt with by a totally separate system of Conciliation Boards. Only in these circumstances will it be possible to develop the atmosphere we need.

Properly understood, an Industrial Council is a great clearing house for ideas, a representative assembly for an industry before which new plans and policies may be discussed in perfect freedom without any demand for their acceptance or any threat of penalties for non-acceptance, in the firm conviction that the only people who can really put industry right are the people who carry it on. The conception of industry united and reorganised to enrich the community through rising wages and falling prices, is one that cannot fail to appeal to everyone who understands team work and the call of the strenuous task. Clearly outlined in a big Industrial Council, by an able group of employers or administrative experts, it would convert the assembly into a kind of permanent commission for developing the industry in order to give better service to the community and high wages to its personnel. The first step would be the establishment of a progressively expanding standard code of minimum conditions adopted by the whole industry as obligatory upon all its members. By far the most interesting developments, however, will arise from the work of pioneer employers who are able to try out different methods and are willing to report to the Council as to their success or failure.

### A Union of Science and Skill.

The operative side of the plan is equally attractive and important. The adoption of the high wage policy will naturally have far-reaching effects upon the Trade Unions. No longer compelled to waste their energies upon resisting threatened reductions in the standard of life of their members, they will become more and more constructive in their outlook. They will be able to devote much more time and money to the technical and administrative education of their members and to finding men specially fitted for the testing of new methods of production.

Every advance secured by these methods is a permanent advance and does not need to be maintained by *force majeure*. That is why such methods are likely to gain the world's record for speed and certainty. The whole thing involves the union of science and skill to outstrip the bad ideas of the last generation by the sheer merit of better ones to-day. It means scientific industrial revolution by consent.

# Le Mouvement Coopératif.

Par G. FAUQUET.

(Cooperation is a very wide-spread movement ; it is to be found not only in Europe and the newer lands which have been founded by European peoples, but also in other countries of different races and creeds. It has proved capable of solving the problems not only of industrial but also of rural conditions. Particularly in countries where large estates have been broken up and the land divided amongst the peasants, it is owing to the cooperative system that these reforms have brought about social and technical progress.

Outside Europe the cooperative movement is to be found : a) in Northern Africa and the Near East, in the agricultural lands all round the shores of the Mediterranean ; b) in the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, where there is, in addition to a Consumers' Movement small in numbers but growing, a strong agricultural movement, particularly for the sale of specialised products, and also, in the United States, a well-established Building and Loan Associations movement ; c) in an elementary stage in Central America and the Antilles ; d) in South America, where it is specially advanced in Argentine and Uruguay, while Brazil has Cooperative societies for agriculture and fishing ; e) in India and Japan, where there are already numerous cooperative societies of different kinds, whilst Credit Cooperation is developing both in Siam, China, the Malay States, the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies and Indo-China ; f) in tropical Africa, and especially in the French mandate territories, where the system has proved capable of adaptation to the old communal institutions of the native peoples.

As regards numbers, there are at present 80,000 Consumers' Cooperative Societies, with a membership of 26 million families, as compared with 18,000 societies twenty years ago. Amongst other than Consumers' Societies, the Agricultural Societies are the most important ; they number about 180,000 of which about 100,000 are Credit Cooperatives. There are therefore a great variety of Cooperative Societies : Urban and Rural Societies, Credit Cooperatives, Consumers' Societies, the various types of agricultural, artisan and workers societies, any of which may be simple or complex in character.

All these varieties however are based on one common principle, that of a democratisation association of equals. In this they are opposed to capitalistic associations, in which voting power is in accordance with the number of shares owned. They differ also from these associations in their purpose, which is that of supplying their members with a definite kind of high quality goods or efficient services at the cheapest possible rate. The interest of a capitalistic society, on the contrary, is to gain, in whatever kind of business, the highest rate of profit on the capital invested with the smallest amount of risk.

In a word, the object of the cooperative movement is not profit, but the service of the community. Unlike charitable organisations, which exist not for the benefit of their own members, but to help those who



are in need, cooperation aims not at helping the weak in some external and temporary fashion, but at uniting them so that they may become strong. Its work in this respect has taken various forms, one of the most striking of which is the battle against usury. Credit cooperatives have succeeded in freeing not only the peasants of Central Europe but the city-workers of America from the clutches of the money-lender. They have replaced the principle "Let us help others" by the principle "Let us help each other."

Besides the Societies composed of individuals, the movement has further extended to a grouping of the various local and national societies, both for the purpose of education and propaganda and for purely economic ends, as trade, production and banking. And, finally, the national societies have joined together in the International Cooperative Alliance, founded in 1895, and now grouping 103 National Societies from 35 countries, including all the European countries, the Argentine, India and Japan. These 103 National Societies represent about 100,000 local societies with about 45 million members. The whole forms a vast democratic organisation, based on the principles of autonomy and self-help, in which the officials of the superior grades are chosen by the one immediately beneath, so that contact is maintained throughout the different ranks, and authority is everywhere in the hands of those who have earned the confidence of their fellow-workers. To obtain the full benefit of this principle, however, it is necessary that the societies should not become too large and unwieldy; it is in the smaller groups that the moral and social advantages of the cooperative spirit are most strongly felt, for it is in them that the personal interest of the member in his society is most strong and most easily expressed. In order to guard against the danger that the Movement may be invaded by the bureaucratic spirit, and its essential virtues be lost, it is therefore necessary that there should everywhere be a sufficient measure of local independence and responsibility. In this way the Cooperative Movement may continue to develop its characteristic features, responsible freedom and a sense of solidarity running from bottom to top of the organisational scale.)

La coopération est peut-être de toutes les formes d'organisation, celle qui a atteint la plus grande extension géographique. Les institutions coopératives se sont en effet développées non seulement dans tous les pays sans exception de l'Europe, non seulement dans les contrées comme l'Amérique du Nord ou l'Amérique du Sud, comme l'Afrique du Nord, l'Afrique du Sud, l'Australie ou la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui par leur langue et par leur population sont comme des prolongements de la vieille Europe, mais aussi dans les pays d'autres races, d'autres croyances, comme le Japon, comme l'Inde, etc.

S'adaptant aux conditions les plus variées, les institutions coopératives sont venues au secours aussi bien des classes rurales et agricoles que des classes populaires des villes et des centres industriels.

En Europe, les coopératives urbaines et ouvrières (coopératives

de consommation, coopératives ouvrières de production, coopératives diverses de crédit ou d'approvisionnement des petits métiers) ont pris naissance dans chaque pays avec le début de l'industrialisme : elles ont offert leur aide à toutes les classes populaires qu'écrasait le développement de l'économie capitaliste.

De même les masses rurales, pour échapper soit aux griffes des usuriers, soit aux fraudes des marchands d'engrais, et aussi pour améliorer leurs procédés de travail, acquérir ou utiliser en commun des machines, assurer sur des marchés proches ou lointains l'écoulement de leurs produits, ont recouru à toutes les formes de l'organisation coopérative. Au cours de ces dernières années, dans tous les pays de l'Est de l'Europe où les réformes ou révolutions agraires ont brisé la grande propriété et réparti la terre entre les paysans, c'est grâce à la coopération que ces réformes et révolutions peuvent être et sont déjà, tout à la fois un progrès social et un progrès technique.

Sans nous arrêter sur chacun des pays européens pris en particulier, nous essayerons de donner pour les autres parties du monde, une idée de l'extension actuelle du mouvement coopératif et de ses possibilités prochaines :

a) Dans l'Afrique du Nord et le Proche-Orient, la coopération agricole a maintenant pris pied sur tout le pourtour de la Méditerranée, en Algérie et en Tunisie, en Palestine et plus récemment au Maroc, en Egypte, dans l'île de Chypre et en Turquie.

b) Dans l'Amérique du Nord, nous trouvons tout d'abord, aux Etats-Unis et au Canada, à côté d'un mouvement de coopératives de consommation numériquement faible, mais qui a déjà dépassé la période des tâtonnements, un puissant mouvement de coopératives agricoles, principalement de coopératives agricoles de vente spécialisées produit par produit suivant les méthodes qui ont fait le succès des coopératives danoises. Notons également aux Etats-Unis un mouvement ancien et très développé de coopératives de crédit à l'habitation (Building and Loan Associations) et un mouvement récent mais plein de promesses qui a réussi à adapter aux besoins des classes ouvrières urbaines, les principales caractéristiques des coopératives d'épargne et de crédit du type Raiffeisen<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Roy F. Bergengren. Les coopératives d'épargne et de crédit et leur adaptation aux besoins des classes ouvrières. (Extrait de la Revue internationale du Travail, mai 1927. Bureau International du Travail. Genève.)

c) Dans l'Amérique centrale et aux Antilles, le mouvement coopératif est encore à ses débuts. Son développement est lié au Mexique au changement du régime agraire.

d) Dans l'Amérique du Sud, c'est en Argentine et en Uruguay que nous trouvons le mouvement le plus ancien et aussi les progrès les plus rapides. Au Brésil, des coopératives rurales et des coopératives de pêcheurs sont en plein développement.

e) Dans les pays baignés par l'Océan Indien et l'Océan Pacifique, les trois Dominions de l'Australie, de la Nouvelle-Zélande et de l'Afrique du Sud, ont développé, outre quelques coopératives de consommation, des coopératives agricoles puissantes dont les Fédérations ont constitué à Londres pour l'écoulement de leurs produits, une agence commune. Au Japon, parallèlement à un mouvement d'origine autochtone de coopératives de crédit, se sont développées, selon les méthodes empruntées à l'Occident, toutes les formes de la coopération. Aux Indes, nous trouvons aujourd'hui plus de 60.000 coopératives de crédit rurales et urbaines sur la base desquelles se développent peu à peu les autres formes de la coopération. De même, dans ces dernières années, la coopération de crédit s'est développée au Siam, en Chine, dans les Etats Malais, aux Iles Philippines et sous des formes spéciales aux Indes néerlandaises et en Indochine.

f) Même dans l'Afrique tropicale et notamment dans les possessions et territoires à mandat français, une première expérience a mis en évidence les bienfaits que les institutions coopératives peuvent apporter aux populations indigènes, sans briser leurs cadres sociaux traditionnels, en faisant évoluer vers des formes nouvelles leurs vieilles institutions communautaires.

Quelques chiffres suffisamment approchés permettent de fixer l'ordre de grandeur du nombre des sociétés coopératives du monde entier. Pour les coopératives de consommation, une évaluation assez précise fixe leur nombre à 80.000, groupant 36 millions de familles alors qu'il y a 20 ans, on ne pouvait guère en dénombrer que 18.000, soit 4 ou 5 fois moins avec des effectifs 10 fois plus faibles. Parmi les sociétés coopératives autres que les sociétés de consommation, c'est-à-dire parmi les sociétés coopératives constituées pour les besoins professionnels de leurs membres, les coopératives agricoles sont de beaucoup les plus nombreuses. Leur nombre peut être évalué à 180.000, dont environ 100.000 sont des coopératives de crédit.



Si sommaire que soit le tableau que nous venons de donner de l'organisation coopérative dans les divers pays, il nous fait apparaître entre ses unités composantes une grande diversité : coopératives rurales et coopératives urbaines, coopératives de crédit, coopératives de consommation, toute la variété des coopératives agricoles, artisanes et ouvrières et dans chacune de ces catégories, des coopératives à fonctions simples et des coopératives à fonctions multiples.

Malgré leur diversité, toutes ces sociétés reposent cependant sur les mêmes principes et c'est de ces principes que dérive tout à la fois leur valeur économique et leur valeur morale et sociale.

Ce sont d'abord des associations à base démocratique, des associations de personnes qui se reconnaissent égales entre elles. Dans les sociétés de capitaux, ce sont les capitaux et non les personnes qui comptent : par suite, autant d'actions, autant de voix. D'après la règle coopérative, au contraire, ce sont les personnes qui comptent : un sociétaire, une voix.

Voilà un premier caractère commun à toutes les sociétés coopératives. En voici un second :

Le but poursuivi par les sociétaires d'une société coopérative, quel que soit son objet, diffère totalement du but poursuivi par les actionnaires d'une société capitaliste.

Si, par exemple, des coopérateurs ont créé une boulangerie, c'est qu'ils désiraient s'approvisionner en pain au meilleur compte. En termes généraux, il y a un rapport étroit entre le genre d'affaires de l'entreprise (boulangerie) créée par la société coopérative et les besoins (approvisionnement en pain) que les sociétaires ont cherché à satisfaire au mieux en unissant leurs efforts. Ce lien direct entre l'objet particulier de l'entreprise coopérative et le but poursuivi par les associés, il apparaît d'une manière évidente dans toute société coopérative : dans une laiterie coopérative par exemple, qu'elle ait été créée par des producteurs de lait ou par des consommateurs de lait, ou encore dans une coopérative de construction, qu'elle ait été créée par des ouvriers du bâtiment ou par des chefs de ménage désireux de trouver un logement.

Quels sont au contraire les mobiles qui poussent un capitaliste à acheter, par exemple, des actions d'une compagnie minière. Ce ne sont pas ses besoins en charbon et encore moins son désir de trouver du travail comme ouvrier mineur. Son seul souci, lorsqu'il fait un choix entre tous les placements qui s'offrent à lui, c'est de choisir celui qui paraît devoir donner le maximum de profits avec le minimum de risques.

La raison d'être des coopératives, la fin pour laquelle elles sont créées et fonctionnent, n'est pas la recherche du profit, indépendamment de la nature de l'entreprise, mais la recherche du meilleur service par une entreprise dont l'objet particulier est déterminé par les besoins des sociétaires, besoins de consommation ou besoins professionnels.

Mais, dira-t-on, les sociétés coopératives ne sont pas les seules à avoir ce caractère ? Les sociétés charitables, les sociétés philanthropiques, ne sont-elles pas constituées elles aussi comme les sociétés coopératives pour le service et non pour le profit ? Sans doute, mais observons que ce n'est pas pour rendre service à leurs propres membres, mais à d'autres qu'eux leurs membres que les sociétés charitables sont organisées. Là est la différence et cette différence n'est pas de nature à diminuer la valeur morale des sociétés coopératives. Sans sous-estimer, en effet, tout ce qu'il y a de respectable dans la bienfaisance vraiment désintéressée, on doit reconnaître que l'aide mutuelle lui est moralement et socialement supérieure.

La bienfaisance va au secours des faibles, mais, sauf dans le cas d'infortunes dues à des causes accidentelles et temporaires, le faible que la charité secourt reste indéfiniment un faible secouru. La bienfaisance ne relève pas ; souvent même, à la longue, elle corrompt. La coopération au contraire unit les faibles pour en faire des forts ; elle n'est pas débilitante, elle est stimulante et tonique.

Des preuves variées pourraient en être données en passant en revue les différentes formes de la coopération. Il nous suffira de rappeler avec quel succès les coopératives de crédit se sont attaquées au fléau de l'usure.

Ce sont les coopératives de crédit du type Raiffeisen qui ont délivré des griffes des usuriers les paysans de l'Europe centrale. Elles sont maintenant répandues dans le monde entier, plus répandues mêmes que les coopératives de consommation. Et voici qu'un mouvement récemment développé aux Etats-Unis nous montre qu'elles sont également capables de délivrer des griffes des usuriers les salariés les plus misérables des grandes cités. A New-York, il résulte de statistiques officielles, qu'elles ont réduit de moitié le nombre des usuriers, et, en outre, réduit de moitié l'importance de leurs affaires. Aucune loi contre l'usure, aucune institution d'assistance publique ou privée n'a pu obtenir des résultats comparables. Là où le gendarme a échoué, là où la bienfaisance, c'est-à-dire, le « aidons les autres », a échoué, la coopération, le « aidons-nous les uns les autres », a pleinement réussi.

Les sociétés composées de membres individuels ne représentent elles-mêmes que le premier degré de l'association coopérative, elles se groupent à leur tour en groupements régionaux et nationaux du deuxième et du troisième degré, groupements de structures variées et de fonctions diverses dont les uns poursuivent des buts moraux d'éducation et de propagande (Unions et fédérations, limitées ou non à une seule forme de la coopération) et les autres des buts économiques (Magasins de gros des coopératives de consommation, Centrales d'approvisionnement ou de vente des coopératives agricoles, Banques coopératives).

Les organisations nationales à leur tour, tout au moins un nombre important et croissant d'entre elles, s'unissent dans l'Alliance coopérative internationale. Fondée en 1895, l'Alliance coopérative internationale groupe actuellement 103 Fédérations nationales appartenant à 35 pays (tous les pays européens et en outre le Canada, les Etats-Unis, l'Argentine, l'Inde et le Japon). Ces 103 Fédérations représentent environ 100,000 sociétés groupant environ 45 millions de sociétaires.

C'est ainsi que le mouvement coopératif nous apparaît comme composé d'innombrables unités économiques qui sont autant de petits foyers de vie sociale reliés entre eux dans un vaste système fédératif qui, dans tous ses éléments à tous ses échelons, met en œuvre les mêmes principes d'autonomie, de responsabilité et d'entr'aide.

A chaque échelon des hommes sont désignés par la confiance de leurs égaux pour constituer l'échelon supérieur où, de nouveau, ces délégués, sans perdre le contact avec les groupes dont ils sont issus, constituent de nouveaux faisceaux de volontés unies, de nouveaux foyers de vie morale et sociale.

Les éléments constitutants de l'organisation coopérative sont réunis, non par la contrainte, mais de leur libre volonté de sorte qu'à chaque degré, depuis la base jusqu'au sommet, peuvent seuls jouer le rôle de guides ceux qui expriment le mieux parmi leurs égaux la cohésion morale nécessaire.

Mais pour que cette cohésion s'établisse et se maintienne, il ne faut pas que les groupes constitutants soient trop vastes. C'est dans les sociétés à petits effectifs, où le lien personnel entre les sociétaires est fort et direct, que se développent le mieux les vertus morales et sociales de la coopération. Les grandes sociétés, en effet, qui comptent leurs sociétaires par dizaines de milliers, bénéficient sans doute, si elles ne sont pas envahies par l'esprit



bureaucratique, des avantages techniques de la concentration, mais elles doivent prendre garde de ne pas perdre les avantages moraux des petites sociétés.

Au fur et à mesure qu'une société accroît son effectif, étend son rayon d'action, le lien social se relâche, le sociétaire prend moins d'intérêt à la marche de la société. Il tend à ne plus voir dans la coopérative qu'une entreprise avec laquelle il n'a d'autres rapports que les rapports de client ou de fournisseur.

Des mesures doivent être prises contre ce danger. La principale consiste à répartir les sociétaires en sections locales et à accorder à ces sections des attributions et des responsabilités suffisantes pour que se réalisent à nouveau, dans des cercles peu étendus, les conditions de vie sociale plus intense des sociétés à petits effectifs.

Les grandes entreprises capitalistes comme les empires dominateurs reposent sur l'asservissement de tout ce qui se trouve au-dessous du sommet. L'organisation coopérative, au contraire, est une construction par en bas. Ses fondations, ce sont les groupes élémentaires ; c'est dans ces groupes que doit être développé et cultivé l'esprit coopératif, c'est-à-dire tout à la fois le sens de la liberté responsable et le sens de la solidarité, pour que de proche en proche et d'échelon en échelon, il anime le système tout entier.

# The Social Responsibility of the Churches

By ADOLF KELLER.

For a long period the Church felt that her chief responsibility was for the individual soul, its freedom and guidance, its spiritual welfare, its salvation. The Church was an institution for the saving of souls, and, at least in Protestant circles, no saying was better understood by her than the words, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" — the *magna charta* of religious individualism.

## The Two Sides of the Christian Message.

Great and noble battles for liberty and for the dignity of the spirit have been fought under this watchword, ever since Luther's refusal to recant before the Diet of Worms because it was impossible to him to do or say anything against his own conscience. This Gospel saying has been the Foundation of all liberalism, laying as it does supreme stress on the inviolability of the soul and its immediate relationship and responsibility to God. It is one of the eternal poles to which the axis of religious life points. But it is only one pole. The other is to be found in that other Gospel saying about the Kingdom of God. Here we are no longer concerned with the soul alone, with the Ego, with personal salvation, but with the great message of a new community bound together by God's Spirit and God's Love, and by the doing of His Will — a community in which the Divine Law would be utterly and completely fulfilled: 'Thou shalt love thy God, and thou shalt love thy brother. This message is the *magna charta* of Christian solidarity. And since its importance has been once more understood, the Church has awakened to a new sense of responsibility, not only for the individual soul, but for the whole world, for its economic, industrial, moral and religious situation.

This new conception and understanding of the Christian task dates only a very few decades back. It is only of quite recent years that the announcement of God's Kingdom has again been placed in the forefront of the Church's message, and since that has been the case, a new era of social responsibility has dawned for the Churches.

### Where the Church Has Failed.

It has been necessary, in dealing with our subject, to begin with these fundamental considerations, for the attitude of the Church towards the world can only be changed as a result of a change in her attitude towards God. The Church can only take up a new position towards the problems of the world, in the present case towards the industrial problem, when she has gained a deeper insight into the meaning of the Gospel and into the nature and will of God. No amount of human goodwill, no merely social effort, will suffice to bring about any real and lasting change. Social progress, so far as the Church is concerned, can only come from a *spiritual* progress, from the breaking forth of a new light, from the inexhaustible wealth of God's unrealised and not yet incarnate truth. The time is not long past when the Church did not feel able to recognise such social responsibility. The Church, at least in Europe, and most completely on the Continent, was to so large an extent identified with the State, its aims and its dynastic interests, and with the mentality of the ruling classes, that she was unable to hear God's call when it came not from the earthly heights of wealth and power, but from the abyss of despair and the dark valleys of modern industrialism, where, like a roaring stream, the waves of revolution were ever rising in menace. But when the Church fails to hear, God has ever and again sent prophets to sound the trumpet-call in her ears. This was the work, in past years, of men and women like Stöcker, Naumann, Blumhardt in Germany, of Kutter, Ragaz, de Morsier in Switzerland, of Tomy Fallot, Gouth, Comte, Wilfred Monod and Elie Gounelle in France, of Ludlow, Keir Hardy, Lucy Gardner in England, of Rauschenbusch, Harry Ward, Thomas and Macfarland in America.

### Pioneers of a New Spirit.

The Church owes to these pioneers and the little groups around them, to their understanding of the Gospel, to their suffering — itself a kind of *satisfactio vicaria* — a new interpretation of the industrial problem in its religious significance and a new sense of social responsibility. They taught the Church not only to see and study the whole modern industrial problem and Labour movement, in all its ugly and irreverent aspects, but to discover the living spiritual forces behind it — the thirst for justice, the new ideal of brotherhood, the new faith in the

creative Power of the Spirit. Kutter once wrote a little book on the Labour movement, entitled "They Must" — meaning by "they" the workers — because they are in the grip of God's creative spirit, although we may see only the human, the all-too-human, side of their strivings.

It would be unjust not to point out here the differing conceptions of their social responsibility which have characterised the churches. They have, of course, all and always recognised the office of the good Samaritan. Some of them have themselves performed this office by the organisation of all kinds of Christian charitable undertakings. Others have entrusted such work to special organisations such as the "Home Mission" in Germany, i.e. the independent organisation of charitable work. All the Churches of Western Christendom in Europe and America have built up, either within the limits of their own activities, or independently, a whole system of such charitable endeavour, by means of which they dispense Christian charity to all who are in need. This work was carried on with increasing success until the war, when much of it broke down, the good Samaritan having no longer bread, wine, oil or beast with which to succour his wounded brother lying in the street. Christianity will, however, without doubt always continue these works of brotherly love.

### **The Growing Sense of Social Responsibility.**

But there is a changing emphasis as regards Christian responsibility. The great appeal to the Christian conscience which has been made by multitudes of industrial workers during the last ten or twenty years is no longer for compassion or charity alone, but for social justice, for solidarity, for fellowship in suffering. Labour, which feels, consciously or unconsciously, that it is in danger of losing its soul in a hell of soulless toil, can no longer be satisfied with the crumbs of compassion and philanthropy which fall from the Church's table, but is claiming its place at that table itself. And the Church feels more and more clearly that this claim is justified. And when in place of this claim there came the growing indifference of the workers towards the Church and its message, turning in many places on the Continent into actual hostility, she became alarmed. She felt that she was losing her hold on the toiling multitudes of industrial and organised labour.

There is, however, a considerable difference in this respect between the economic systems of Great Britain and America,



the industrial Continent and the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe. Organised labour in Central Europe, with the exception of the Christian Trade Unions, has almost completely adopted the social philosophy of Karl Marx, and leaves heaven "to the sparrows and to the parsons". In Great Britain and America labour has not identified itself in its economic struggle with the materialistic and atheistic philosophy of Marx, and is not out in the first place for political power. The workers there have not abandoned all religious interest to the same extent as their Continental colleagues. Two years ago, in Edinburgh, I heard the miner, James Brown, in his capacity of Lord High Commissioner, open the Church Assembly with a fine Christian speech. And a few months ago Mr. Greene, President of the American Federation of Labour, told me, in Washington, that there was no spirit of antagonism to religion in the hearts of American workers. He himself often speaks from the pulpit — a possibility of contact and communion with Christian life which the Continental churches have entirely lost, so far as that body of labour is concerned which is organised in the Social Democratic party.

In the eastern countries of the Continent, where no second or third generation of workers exists, there is, except for Russia, less antagonism to the Church. And even in Soviet Russia we see it happening that in parishes composed of workers, where the Church has been sequestered by the Soviet authorities or turned into a cinema, the parishioners are themselves erecting a new church building.

The official Church and organised Christianity as a whole owe very great thanks to those pioneers and religious social groups within the Church, which, by their social endeavours, have kept open a way, narrow though it may have been, by which the Church and Labour could approach nearer to one another. They interpreted to the Church the spiritual distress of the multitude whose soul was being crushed by the machine, its poignant yet alarming cries of distress, voicing themselves in the language of revolution. And, on the other hand, they have endeavoured to explain to the workers — unfortunately not as yet with any great success — that men do not live by bread alone, but by the Spirit, by the Word of God.

The Church is gradually coming to understand the new situation. She is not moving very rapidly, and she is not advancing with a solid front. There are vanguard groups — Churches which, under the new slogan of social justice, are carrying on

a great educational campaign for social responsibility and social endeavour, and which have, during the last twenty years, entirely abandoned the merely individualistic interpretation of the Gospel. But there are other Churches which remain cautiously in the rear of the great army, and advance only because none can stand still.

### **The Lutheran and Calvinist Attitudes.**

It is interesting to note in this connection how ultimate theological conceptions determine the pace of advance in social matters, the interest in social work and the sense of social responsibility. A purely eschatological conception of the Kingdom, an attempt to confine Grace to individual experience, as was sometimes the case in the Lutheran Church, has often led to a quietistic attitude and to the fear lest, by social activity, the Church might lose sight of her essential task, the preaching of God's Word. Hence the criticism which is often heard in these circles, on the Continent, to the effect that on the other side of the water there is a danger of spiritual life being drowned in a sea of mere social activity.

On the other hand, much stress has always been laid by the Calvinist Churches on the necessity of transforming the world in the direction of better social conditions and of working for God's glory in this world of sin and distress. We cannot accept it as it is; we cannot fold our arms in an attitude of pessimistic and quietist resignation to the actual.

But even in the first group, there are happy inconsistencies, and the antagonism between the two types of Churches, in regard to their attitude towards industrial problems, is in the nature of a great and highly stimulating controversy, in which both parties are concerned to defend one aspect of Gospel truth, and in which each is learning from the other.

The strongest stimulus to progress has come from the big national and international conferences which have taken place in recent years. The Copec Conference in Birmingham and the Stockholm Life and Work Conference are high water marks in the new movement towards social responsibility in the Churches. Their stimulating influence has been felt above all on the Continent. There can be no doubt that to-day, in spite of the dogmatic scruples of which I have spoken, the Churches have accepted a definite social obligation towards the industrial worker, and are

making a joint effort to make good, if that be possible, their negligence during past years.

### **The Church Organises International Social Service.**

It would be very difficult to give a general description of their present practical endeavours. This, however, is a matter of secondary importance, for their main task cannot be the carrying out of a definite social programme; this can often be better done by other independent agencies or by the State. Their most fruitful task is to inspire in the Christian community a new sense of responsibility, to stimulate goodwill, to proclaim social justice and charity, to strengthen men's faith in God's Kingdom and its coming, and to point out the way to the realisation of a new Christian society. Since Copeck and Stockholm, we can all advance together in this task in one common effort. The International Institute of the Churches, now in Zurich and soon to be transferred to Geneva, which was founded by the Stockholm Continuation Committee, will be a clearing house of information as to the social interpretation and application of Christianity. It will further the exchange of experience gained by the Churches in their respective fields. Up to the present, the single parish has been, together with the independent social agencies, the centre point of social service in a given field. Throughout the whole of Western Christendom the parish or its pastorate has been the nucleus of all social work, which was chiefly of a charitable character. The parish and its organs, the pastorate or commissions specially appointed for the purpose, were the instruments by which such work was carried on; the suffering, the unprivileged, the poor, the weak, were the objects of their efforts. In the new situation which has been created by the problems of industry, and with the placing before us of a new form of social responsibility, the instrument of social service is no longer the single parish, but the Church as a whole. And its object is no longer the suffering or needy individual, but society as a whole or its various branches. With the growth of our responsibilities our task has grown also, and the single parish can no longer accomplish it alone, nor can it possess that far-reaching vision of a comprehensive social reform to which the Church as a whole may attain. Where a Church has possessed this vision, it has no longer left its social task to the single parishes, but has created a social commission to carry it out, as has been done, for instance, by the American and German Churches. It has appointed social

secretaries and organised social pastorates, as in Germany, and has promoted social schools and courses of social study as in Germany, France, Wales and the United States. It has published social messages and declarations of faith, as in the case of the American Federal Council of Churches, dealing not only with general principles, but with specific industrial problems. It has created Institutes of Social Research, such as that of the Federal Council or that which is planned by the Copec Movement, and that of the Stockholm Conference. All this it has done in repentance of its negligence in past decades, when it failed to grasp the great opportunity afforded by the rise of the new labouring class, and in a new faith in a messianic gospel whose good news is not only for the individual few of the " saved ", but for all men.



# Welche Verantwortung hat der Student zur Änderung der industriellen Verhältnisse beizutragen ?

Von KARL MICHAELIS.

(The attitude of students towards industrial problems varies very greatly. Many are absolutely indifferent to or even contemptuous of the "people", living in a careless enjoyment of their own prosperity. But in Christian circles there has been for some time a growing sense of social responsibility and of the injustice of the present distribution of wealth. On the other hand, there is in certain quarters a feeling that Christianity must not be identified with a definite social programme, still less with a political party. Others again feel that we have New Testament authority for believing that the Kingdom of God can never be realised on this earth, but only by God's own action and in His own time, and that therefore any attempt to solve "social" problems is unchristian.

The first point to be clear about is what we mean by "Christian". We do not mean either a vague religiosity or a dogmatic literalism, but rather the truth and faith that God Himself breathes into us, if we are really willing to let ourselves be led by Him. And to attain to this we must be freed from egotism and self-seeking and reverence for merely human authority. The message of the New Testament is the message of the coming of God's Kingdom. It is therefore an urgent and radical message, for God's Kingdom is universal and aims at bringing the whole world within its sphere. The aim of the New Testament is the turning of each individual heart to God, and the overcoming of evil. The reformation of the world for which it strives is at once deeper and broader than that of any idealism, than anything that we can intellectually grasp. There can therefore be no doubt that there is an immediate connection between the coming of the Kingdom and social conditions, which are simply relations between human beings. Perhaps we have only just begun to realise that this is so, and that all spheres of life fall within the bounds of the Kingdom. But to see this is not enough ; we are confronted with the need for action, for which we need new strength, more prayer, more love, and greater devotion to truth.

What is the relation of social politics to the Kingdom of God? We must first be clear as to the distinction between them. In political life we must deal with men as they are. In the Kingdom of Heaven we are dealing with men not as they are in our experience, but as they may become through God's power. To apply this principle in the political sphere would be folly. The principle on which we should act in social work is then the following : It is not true to say that individual self-seeking is responsible for all the evils of the social order. In many of the domains in which classes or groups are to-day engaged in conflict, there are in reality common interests and solidarities binding them together ;

so for example, as between consumers and producers, or between the different nations. The discovery and realisation of these common interests is one of the main tasks of social politics. Secondly, it has an educational task. We have no right to depreciate its attempts along these lines, contending that self-seeking can only be overcome by the power of God. There is a certain amount of ethical energy already in the world, and this can be organised and perhaps strengthened by education and propaganda and used as a factor in politics. In the domains of alcoholism and sexual morality, for instance, clearly much can be done in this way. All this will however never bring in the Kingdom of God, and we should be neither true Christians nor true politicians if we thought that it would.

However, although we may in theory make this absolute distinction between the Kingdom and the social order, in practice the cleavage is not always clear-cut. A thousand connecting threads pass over from one to the other, and all the more so because the Kingdom of Heaven is not something fixed and definite, but is in continual process of growth. It is ever permeating more and more the mass of unredeemed life around it. We cannot withdraw ourselves from that worldly life; we are bound to take our share in it and serve it.

In considering the effects of modern industry on the human personality, we have to take into account its effects on health and intellectual capacity. The chief question we have to ask, however, is: Has modern factory production any significance for the worker, or does he have to look outside the factory for his real life? And if that is so, how can his life have any sort of unity? There are three main lines of attack on the modern system, and suggestions for its improvement. (1) Those who condemn utterly this machine age of ours, which has destroyed all the craftsman's joy in creation. They see in Medieval society the ideal social order; it appears to them as a sort of "golden age." It is certainly true that modern industrial production has destroyed the joy of craftsmanship, but at the same time it is equally certain that we cannot now do away with the machine. The most positive suggestion put forward by this group then is a reconstruction of the factory system in the direction of allowing the individual workman to follow the process of manufacture through a longer stage and with more understanding of what he is doing. This would clearly not solve the whole problem, and it is doubtful how far it could be carried out in practice. (2) A second group seeks to intensify the "speeding-up" process and the division of labour, with the object of increasing output and raising wages, at the same time leaving the worker as much free time as possible in which to cultivate his personality. This is a positive suggestion, but it does not do away with the contradiction between "work" and "life". (3) A third party takes the view that machine industry must be preserved, but the contradiction between life and work must somehow be removed. This is to be done, not by giving the worker any creative joy or satisfaction, but by an appeal to the idea of "duty" — a sort of glorification of "work" without regard to personal reward, which plays a considerable part in the teachings of the socialist labour movement in Germany.

What then is to be the attitude of the Christian student? We are all involved in the industrial system, for we all use and need its products. The student has a particular obligation in this matter, for, generally speaking, he is only enabled to enjoy his years of study by the fruits of the toil of others. Further, the professional classes, which are drawn from the Universities, have the advantage of doing work which gives

them a certain satisfaction and a certain power of initiative. They are therefore privileged as compared with the manual workers. But what can the student *do*? His first duty must be, not to engage in social or political activity, but to study the problems before him, and to do this in a spirit free from party prejudice. Let students endeavour to get to know actual conditions, by working during the vacations, helping in adult school work, and so on, and let them also study the theory of the question. Political economy and social politics may offer us a life work in God's service just as much as the Home or Foreign Mission Field. Certain things we can do for the improvement of social relationships even while we are still at college — by our behaviour towards workers whom we may personally meet, and by avoiding the extravagance, idleness, and arrogance of bearing so common in certain student circles. We can perhaps also do something to influence the attitude and tone in our own social surroundings, to remove prejudice and misunderstanding. Complaints are frequently made in so-called "cultured" circles about the ingratitude of the "working-classes", the impossibility of helping them. The failure of such attempts is often due to the manner in which they are made; and even where this is not the case, we cannot, as Christians, allow ourselves to be rebuffed by such experiences, but must rather see in them a proof of the need not merely of external help but of the Divine healing-power which goes straight to the heart.)

## I.

Die akademische Welt der Gegenwart zeigt die verschiedensten Verhaltungsweisen gegenüber dem industriellen Arbeiterproblem: Vollständige Gleichgültigkeit, wohl gar Verachtung der Masse, unbekümmertes Geniessen des Reichtums (der für den Studenten immer nur ererbt, nicht selbst erarbeitet ist) herrschen in weiten Kreisen, und viele Studenten, die die Universität beziehen, sind in solchen Anschauungen aufgewachsen. Auf der andern Seite wird seit längerer Zeit gerade in christlichen Kreisen immer deutlicher der Ruf laut: Wir dürfen die industriellen Arbeitermassen nicht sich selbst überlassen; es ist unmöglich, dass in dem Wohnungselend der modernen Grosstädte die Botschaft des Evangeliums noch vernommen werden kann; die Ungerechtigkeit der Güterverteilung schreit zum Himmel. Die Ursache der Uebel ist die Selbstsucht der Menschen, darum sind zu ihrer Behebung, so sagt man, Menschen nötig, die vom Geiste Christi beseelt sind; man stellt sozialpolitische Forderungen auf, für die man im Namen Christi eintritt. — Andere wieder warnen davor, das Christentum mit bestimmten sozialen Forderungen zu identifizieren. Sie meinen, das neue Testament gebe kein sozialpolitisches Programm, und es sei gefährlich, das Christentum in zu enge Verbindung mit der einen oder andern sozialpolitischen Partei zu bringen. — Wieder andere meinen, dass die sozialen

Bestrebungen aus dem Grunde nicht mit dem Christentum in Verbindung gebracht werden dürften, weil das neue Testament uns sage, dass das Reich Gottes niemals auf der Erde verwirklicht werden könne; es werde nicht durch soziale oder humanitäre Bestrebungen herbeigeführt, sondern in einer Endkatastrophe durch das unmittelbare Eingreifen Gottes selbst.

## 2.

So dringen die verschiedensten Stimmen an unser Ohr, wenn wir als junge Menschen versuchen, ein eigenes Urteil zu gewinnen. Was soll die Haltung des "christlichen" Studenten sein? Wir müssen hier einen Augenblick fragen; Was heisst christlich? Wir meinen damit weder die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Kirche, noch eine unbestimmte "Religiösität". Wir fassen auch nicht auf irgendeinem dogmatistischen Buchstabenglauben. *Wir glauben, das wir die Wahrheit nicht eher finden, als bis Gott selbst zu uns geredet hat* und das geschieht nur, wenn wir bereit sind, alles eigene Wünsche und Meinen aufzugeben und uns ganz führen zu lassen. Dann aber wird es Wirklichkeit, dass er uns durch seinen Geist in das Verständnis der Bibel leitet, sodass wir nicht mehr das herauslesen, was unserem Wünschen entspricht und so unsere eigene Stimme hören, oder irgendwelchen Modeströmungen unterliegen oder der Meinung irgendwelcher theologischer Lehrer folgen, sondern dass wir Gott selber zu uns reden hören. Fehlt es nicht in den christlichen Kirchen an solchen von der Eigenliebe und der Abhängigkeit von Menschen befreiten Persönlichkeiten? Hat *darum* nicht gerade in sozialen Fragen eine klare, eigene, führende Stellungnahme von christlicher Seite gefehlt?

Die Botschaft des Neuen Testamentes ist die Botschaft vom Anbruch der Herrschaft Gottes, und damit *eine höchst aktuelle, unüberbietbare radikale Botschaft*. Denn die Herrschaft Gottes ist etwas Universales. Sie zielt auf vollkommene Durchdringung der Welt. Erst wenn der Wille Gottes in den äusseren und inneren Beziehungen zur völligen Herrschaft gekommen ist, ist das Reich Gottes verwirklicht. Die Hinkehr des Herzens jedes einzelnen Menschen zu Gott, die Befreiung unseres Willens von der Herrschaft des Bösen, und seine Unterwerfung unter den Willen Gottes ist ebenso das Ziel, auf das das neue Testament hinweist, wie die Herstellung der äusseren Gerechtigkeit, die Schaffung freier Entfaltungsmöglichkeit für alle von Gott geschenkten Gaben. Die Umgestaltung der Welt, auf die das neue Testament



zielt, geht tiefer und weiter als es irgendeine Ideologie will, tiefer und weiter, als wir schliesslich begreifen können.

Darum kann es auch nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass eine unmittelbare Beziehung vorhanden ist zwischen dem Kommen des Reiches Gottes und der sozialen Lage, d.h. nichts anderes, als : den Beziehungen der Menschen. Und kann denn ein Zweifel bestehen, dass das Neue Testament von Anfang (Matth. 22, 39) bis zum Ende (Jak. 2, 15) von dieser Beziehung redet ? Diese innerste Bindung unseres Gewissens gibt das Verantwortungsbewusstsein, das nicht erst erwacht, wenn die soziale Revolution an die Türe klopft. Es ist möglich, dass wir diese Seite des Neuen Testaments jetzt wieder deutlicher erkannt haben. Vielleicht stellten einige frühere Generationen nur begrenzte Bezirke des Lebens unter den Gesichtspunkt des Reiches Gottes und vielleicht ist man heute sogar geneigt, auf diese älteren Generationen herabzusehen. Aber wir müssen uns klar machen : Damit, dass wir die neue Aufgabe *sehen*, ist erst wenig gewonnen. Eine neue Aufgabe bedeutet : Neuer Bedarf an Kraft, das heisst mehr Gebet, mehr Liebe, mehr Kraft der Wahrheit, um in einer Welt der Lüge leben zu können. Siehe, ich sende euch wie die Schafe mitten unter die Wölfe. Darum seid klug wie die Schlangen und ohne Falsch wie die Tauben.

### 3.

Wie verhält sich nun die Sozialpolitik zu diesem Reich Gottes ? Wir müssen zunächst den Unterschied, ja Gegensatz zwischen beiden so deutlich als möglich herausstellen. Die Sozialpolitik wie alle Politik muss sich auf die Menschen, wie sie sind, einstellen. Sie muss mit den vorhandenen Kräften rechnen. Im Reich Gottes wird nicht gerechnet mit den Menschen, wie sie erfahrungsgemäss sind, sondern mit dem, was sie durch die Kraft Gottes werden können. Aber mit der Kraft und der Verheissung Gottes als einem Faktor der Politik zu rechnen, wäre eine Torheit. Was bleibt dann von der Sozialpolitik übrig ? Die Arbeitsmöglichkeit und die Aufgabe der Sozialpolitik ergibt sich aus Folgendem :

1. Es ist nicht richtig, dass die Wurzel aller sozialen Misstände und der Interessenkämpfe allein die Selbstsucht ist. In Wahrheit gibt es auf einer ganzen Reihe von Gebieten, wo sich heute einzelne Volksklassen oder Gruppen bekämpfen, Solidaritäten, Interessengemeinschaften, sowohl: zwischen den einzelnen Nationen, als zwischen Produzenten und Konsumenten etc. Wir

können das hier nicht im einzelnen ausführen. Die Aufdeckung und Verwirklichung dieser Solidaritäten ist die eine grosse Aufgabe der Sozialpolitik.

2. Zweifellos ist freilich, dass es damit allein nicht getan ist, sondern dass Hand in Hand damit die sozialpädagogische Aufgabe gelöst werden muss. Die neuere Pädagogik legt mit Recht schon beim Kinde entscheidenden Wert auf die Erziehung zur Gemeinschaft. Und es wäre vollkommen unrichtig, wollte man alle diese Bestrebungen im Namen des Neuen Testaments damit abtun, dass man sagt: Die wirkliche Ueberwindung der Selbstsucht geschieht nur durch die Kraft Gottes. Nein, es ist ein gewisses Quantum ethischer Energie in der Welt vorhanden, das organisierbar, durch Pädagogik und Propaganda vielleicht vermehrbar ist, und das als Faktor in der Politik eingesetzt werden kann. Man denke nur an die Selbstaufopferung, wie sie in unermesslichem Masse im Kriege sich gezeigt hat oder täglich von ungezählten Müttern bewiesen wird. Man denke auch daran, dass etwa auf dem Gebiete des Alkoholmissbrauchs oder der geschlechtlichen Sittlichkeit durch Erziehung geleistet werden kann.

*Die Aufdeckung und Verwirklichung der Solidaritäten, und die Organisation der vorhandenen ethischen Kräfte sind also die Aufgabe der Sozialpolitik.*

Freilich, das Reich Gottes wird damit niemals herbeigeführt werden; wer das glauben wollte, setzte sich mit aller vernünftigen Erfahrung ebenso in Widerspruch wie mit der Bibel. Er mag ein Schwärmer sein, aber er ist weder ein Christ noch ein Politiker.

#### 4.

Das Wesen des Reiches Gottes und das Wesen der Sozialpolitik lassen sich wohl theoretisch klar unterscheiden, und diese gedankliche Klarstellung ist auch nötig. Im Leben aber entstehen die untrennbarsten Beziehungen zwischen beiden; denn das Werden des Reiches Gottes ist ein allmählicher lebendiger Prozess. Es ist gleich dem Senfkorn, das zum grossen Baum wird, sodass die Vögel unter seinen Zweigen wohnen, und gleich einem Sauerteig, den ein Weib nahm und mengte ihn unter drei Scheffel Mehl, bis dass es gar durchsäuert war. Immer wieder hat man versucht, eine reinliche Scheidung zwischen "Reich Gottes" und "Welt" vorzunehmen, und immer wieder ist man damit gescheitert. Wir können noch nicht die grosse Endabrechnung

vornehmen. Diese hat sich Gott selbst vorbehalten (Matth. 13, 29), und sie wird ganz anders ausfallen, als man gedacht hat (Matth. 25, 37 und 7, 22). Wir würden in unserem Bestreben, das Unkraut auszuraufen, den Weizen mit ausreissen. — Wir können uns auch nicht auf eine grüne Insel zurückziehen, sondern sind der Welt, wie sie ist, verpflichtet. (Joh. 17, 15. 18.)

## 5.

Dieses Heft ist der Frage der Einwirkung der Industriearbeit auf die menschliche Persönlichkeit gewidmet. Die Einwirkung in hygienischer Beziehung spielt da mit Recht eine bedeutende Rolle, desgleichen die Einwirkungen auf die geistigen Fähigkeiten. Vor allem aber ist die Frage zu erörtern: Hat die industrielle Fabrikarbeit noch irgend einen Sinn für den, der sie tut? Ist nicht der Zustand der, dass für den Fabrikarbeiter das "Leben" erst ausserhalb seiner Arbeit beginnt? Und ist es dann noch möglich, dass das Leben eine Einheit bildet? So weit ich sehe, gehen Kritik und Vorschläge zur Abhilfe heute hauptsächlich nach drei Richtungen:

1. Die einen verfluchen das Zeitalter der Maschine, die dem Arbeiter alle Schöpferfreude nimmt. Sie trauern dem Mittelalter nach, in dem der Handwerker nach seiner eigenen Begabung etwas Selbständiges erdacht und ausgeführt und in dem eine vorbildliche soziale Ordnung geherrscht habe. Das Mittelalter, das der aufgeklärte Westeuropäer vor Kurzem noch für sehr finster hielt, erscheint nun geradezu als eine Art von goldenem Zeitalter. Es ist allerdings sehr fraglich, ob diese Beurteilung historisch zutreffend ist. Doch das, worauf es hier ankommt, dass nämlich die Industriearbeit jede Schöpferfreude ausschliesst, ist jedenfalls zutreffend. Indessen scheint es, dass diejenigen, die hauptsächlich diese Tatsache beklagen, nicht besonders viel Vorschläge zur Abhilfe zu machen haben, da doch niemand ernstlich der Meinung ist, die Maschinenindustrie könne abgeschafft werden. Sehen wir also von Bestrebungen ab, die der Flucht in eine "Siedelung im Grünen" das Wort reden, so scheint als positiver Vorschlag im Wesentlichen nur der Gedanke der sogenannten Gruppenfabrikation übrig zu bleiben, d.h. der Gedanke, die Produktion innerhalb des Betriebes so anzuordnen, dass der einzelne Arbeiter wenigstens einen gewissen Abschnitt des Produktionsprozesses übersehen und auf diese Weise seine Arbeit mit einem gewissen Verständnis betreiben kann. Es muss

hier offen gelassen werden, ob dieser Gedanke überhaupt in nennenswertem Umfang durchgeführt werden kann. Eine Gesamtlösung des Problems bringt er zweifellos nicht.

2. Eine andere Richtung sagt daher : Wir müssen im Gegenteil den Produktionsprozess durch die strikt durchgeführte Serienfabrikation so intensiv und damit so billig wie möglich gestalten. Das Ziel muss sein : Hohe Löhne und möglichst viel freie Zeit für den Arbeiter, in der er dann Zeit für die Aneignung der Kulturgüter hat. Freilich mag auch die Serienfabrikation ihre Schwierigkeiten haben, indem nämlich die Einstellung des gesamten Betriebes bis in die kleinsten Kleinigkeiten auf eine bestimmte Arbeitsmethode ein Hindernis für die Einführung technischer Neuerungen bilden kann. Jedenfalls handelt es sich hier um einen positiven Vorschlag, aber der Gegensatz zwischen dem eigentlichen "Leben" und der Berufsarbeit wird verewigt.

3. Eine dritte Richtung endlich meint, dass zwar die industrielle Maschinenarbeit unentbehrlich ist, dass aber auch der innere Gegensatz zwischen Leben und Arbeit unerträglich ist. Sie bejaht die industrielle Arbeit so wie sie ist ; sie meint, es komme nicht auf subjektive Befriedigung oder Schöpferfreude bei der Arbeit an : der Pflichtbegriff, der die Pflichterfüllung an sich ohne Frage nach persönlichem Nutzen oder persönlicher Befriedigung fordert, bildet hier die Grundlage. Diese Verherrlichung der "Arbeit" an sich spielt in der Ideologie der sozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle. Aber bringt diese Ideologie wirklich die Befreiung des Industriearbeiters, die er erschnt ?

Welches ist nun die Aufgabe des christlichen Studenten in dieser Lage ? Wir *alle* brauchen ja die Kohle, die in lebensgefährlicher Arbeit gefördert, — die Wolle, die vielleicht für Hungerlöhne gefertigt —, die Chemikalien, die unter Opferung der Gesundheit hergestellt sind, aber die *Studentenschaft* trifft noch eine besondere Verpflichtung. Ein Teil mag sich sein Studium selbst verdienen, dem grössten Teil ermöglicht es die Arbeit anderer, mehrere Jahre dem Studium obzuliegen. Ferner : einem grossen Teil der Akademiker, dem Pfarrer, dem Lehrer und vielen andern gewährt schon ihre Berufsarbeit Freude und Befriedigung. Sie erfreuen sich einer gewissen Selbständigkeit in der Gestaltung ihrer Arbeit und erleben darin Erfolge oder Misserfolge — ganz im Gegensatz zum Industriearbeiter, der ohne Selbstbestimmungsrecht in langweilige Arbeit eingespannt ist. Freilich diese Not der Industriearbeit drückt nicht nur den Handarbeiter, sie liegt auch auf weiten Kreisen von Akademikern,



Kaufleuten, Ingenieuren usw. Auch an diese müssen wir denken, wenn wir von dem "Angriff des modernen Industrialismus auf die menschliche Persönlichkeit" sprechen.

Aber was können wir als Studenten *tun*? Die Studenten bilden keine eigene Gruppe im Staate, wie die andern Stände. Die Aufgabe des Studenten ist nicht in erster Linie die, sozialpolitische Aktionen zu unternehmen, sondern zu studieren. Wer Student ist, erfülle in erster Linie *diese* Aufgabe. Aber freilich wirkt unsere soziale Verpflichtung auch auf die Art unseres Studiums ein. Vor allem benutze man die Studienzeit, um sich von überkommenen Vorurteilen und parteipolitischen Einseitigkeiten freizumachen. Wer vom Reich Gottes weiss, wird nicht in einem bestimmten politischen Programm das Heil erblicken können, aber er ist ganz offen für die gerechte Würdigung der sozialpolitischen Bestrebungen. Man suche die soziale Wirklichkeit kennen zu lernen, sowohl praktisch — durch Ferienarbeit in Fabriken, Beteiligung an Arbeiterunterrichtskursen usw. — als auch theoretisch.

Nationalökonomie und Sozialpolitik bieten noch ungeheure ungelöste Probleme und Aufgaben. Ebenso wie in die äussere und innere Mission kann uns Gott in den Dienst in einem solchen Beruf rufen. Vor allem gilt es, auch die Berufswahl ganz unter den Willen Gottes zu stellen. Hier liegt die entscheidende Frage: Leben mit ehrgeizigen oder bequemen Zielen — oder gesinnt sein wie Jesus Christus auch war und ein Diener aller Menschen werden?

In einigen Beziehungen können wir schon als Studenten unmittelbar eine Besserung der sozialen Verhältnisse ermöglichen helfen: Z.B. Durch unser Auftreten gegenüber den Angehörigen der Arbeiterklasse. Gerade unsere Aufgabe als christliche Studenten ist es, auch die kleinen Gelegenheiten des täglichen Lebens zu benutzen, um Brücken zwischen den Ständen zu schlagen. In einer ganzen Reihe von Ländern ist öffentliche Verschwendung, Müssiggang und anmassendes Auftreten bei studentischen Gruppen häufig zu finden.

Vielleicht können wir auch, soweit wir aus sogenannten gebildeten Kreisen stammen, gelegentlich dazu beitragen, soziale Vorurteile zu beseitigen. Z.B.: Man hört in "gebildeten" Kreisen gegenüber sozialen Bestrebungen häufig den Einwand: Die Arbeiter wollen sich gar nicht helfen lassen; man kann die schönsten Siedelungen vor der Stadt errichten, sie wohnen lieber in den Mietskasernen in der Stadt, wo Kino und Wirtshaus in der Nähe sind, usw. So sprechen häufig Leute, die gesehen haben,

wie man mit vielleicht wohlgemeinten Versuchen nicht auf Gegenliebe gestossen ist, und sich nun gegenüber allen sozialen Bestrebungen unendlich überlegen und erfahren vorkommen. Nun liegt jenem Einwand teilweise eine richtige Beobachtung zugrunde. Häufig genug liegt freilich der Grund der Ablehnung in der Art, wie man helfen will. Es hat Bestrebungen, die angeblich das Wohl der Arbeiter wollten, genug gegeben, die den Arbeitern Grund zum Misstrauen gaben. Aber sollte selbst ungerechte Ablehnung und unbegründetes Misstrauen oder gar Feindschaft seitens der Arbeiter ein Grund sein, sich von der Arbeit zurückzuziehen ? So kann niemand sprechen, der sich christlich nennt. Sind nicht die Menschen Gott auch mit Ablehnung und Feindschaft begegnet, und Er hat sich ihrer doch erbarmt ? Gerade unberechtigtes Misstrauen kann uns nicht überraschen ; es bestätigt uns nur, dass die Menschheit nicht nur äusserlich, sondern auch innerlich krank ist. Darum braucht sie Menschen, in denen und durch die göttliche Heilungskräfte zu ihr kommen, damit "Sein Reich komme und Sein Wille auf dieser Erde geschehe, wie er im Himmel geschieht !"

## Summer Industrial Research Groups in U.S.A.

By B.M. CHERRINGTON.

Fired! A group of more skilled workers, had applied at the gate for work and the foreman, seeing a chance to "speed up" the job had told the two discharged college students to call at noon for their pay checks. Then followed a week of walking through the hot streets of the city in a vain search for another job. Such was the first experience of two members of the first Industrial Research Group conducted in Denver, Colorado, in the summer of 1920. It had long been the custom for American college men to work during summer months, but few had thought of it as having any purpose other than to accumulate funds with which to meet the expenses of the coming college year. Then someone conceived the idea of making summer work an educative as well as remunerative experience. Here was a chance to study social and industrial problems close up; not in terms of abstract theory but through intimate first hand contact with those problems as living realities. And so the Industrial Research movement came into being. The two students who were so summarily introduced to the realities of "unemployment" and "job hunting" were members of a group of twenty-one students who came to Denver from different institutions to find work in industry. Each one searched for employment as a common labourer, no matter what the industry. Each found board and lodging in quarters patronized by working men, and lived within the income from his wages. In short, the purpose was to cease for the time being to be a college student and become as completely as possible identified with the industrial workers of the community. Four times a week, after the day's work, they would come together in a seminar meeting under expert leadership to discuss their experiences. Within rough limits their observations covered a cross section of industrial Denver. Note the variety of occupations among them: vulcanizer in a tire factory, hod-carrier, dishwasher in a cafeteria, street-car conductor, stocker in a lumber yard, unskilled labourer in a smelting plant, machinists helper

in railroad shops, and carpenters helper. In the seminar meetings their motive was to seek the truth open-mindedly, to understand sympathetically both the employer's and worker's point of view. Here they heard labour leaders, employers, and experts in the field of industrial relations. They were taken to meetings of trade unions and through larger industries that were experimenting with plans of employee representation. Four were working on the car lines at the time of the great tramway strike ; all saw industrial warfare at close range.

In the summer of 1921 the movement branched out to a number of other cities. The college Y. W. C. A. also started their first group for college women that summer in Denver. Among the women we find one working as a saleslady and others respectively as a switch-board operator, elevator operator, two laundry workers, two biscuit packers, two housemaids, two overall sewers, and three café waitresses. Since then the movement has grown steadily and each summer a number of groups for men and women are to be found in American cities.

### What the Students Say.

At the close of the summer's work each student writes a report of his or her observations and experiences. Each one's experiences are significantly different from the others. Here are some of the comments on working conditions and the attitudes of workers taken from a recent set of reports. The girls serving as housemaids found it " A steady grind from morning till night ". One said that after the lunch dishes were done, in the only period of leisure the mistress always said " Now, Garnett, while you're resting you can take the baby out in the yard to play ". (Needless to say the students do not disclose to their employers that they are college students.) The girls in the factories complained of " strain through excessive speed ". One girl said that after sprinkling three thousand shirts every week, men became to her no more than shirt-wearing bipeds. In the laundries ventilation could only be secured by opening the windows on one side, and the heat was always unbearable on the other. No adequate dressing-rooms were found anywhere ; if there were cots they were so dirty as to be repulsive. In one factory a dressing-room four feet by six was used by thirty women. One girl reports " when girls are ill the foreman often refuses to let them go home even though they would be willing to be ' docked ' for the time lost. Hardly a day passed when I did not notice some



girl who looked almost ready to drop. Often they wore a cloth around their heads because of a splitting headache. They were not allowed to lie down even for an hour. The girls are in eternal fear of losing their jobs if they do not put forth every ounce of their strength ”.

The considerable immorality that was found among men the students attributed chiefly to the environment and background. They concluded “ The grinding monotony of machine production makes a large majority of the workers gratify their desires to the limit during off hours, resulting in a great deal of drunkenness and sexual immorality ”. Laundry workers and waitresses were found to be married but usually not living with their husbands. In one restaurant all of the thirteen waitresses except the student were married. Most of them were under twenty-five. One girl of eighteen was getting her second divorce. Virtually all the women had relations with a man who was a “ steady feller ”. The college girls working in restaurants felt that the environment was such as to make conventional moral life almost impossible.

### **The Attitude of the Workers.**

The men found the “ speeding up ” process in some industries and in each case it was accompanied by an attempt to sabotage on the part of the workers. In a creamery the men were compelled to work part of the time in a hot room, then go immediately to one where the temperature was below zero. This occurred several times each day and caused the men frequently to catch colds. In this place the wage was thirty-five cents an hour, there was no chance of advancement, the work was heavy, and the foreman was of the “ slave-driver ” type. One worker replied to a question about sabotage “ Do you expect me to kill myself at this job for thirty-five cents an hour? ” One student who worked at a swiftly moving machine says “ My legs and back would ache from standing in the same place ; my fingers and hands became stiff from doing the same thing ; I used tape to keep from wearing the skin off my fingers, but not for long, as the tape stopped the circulation of the blood. When the machine did stop, it seemed to be going backwards, because my eyes had become so accustomed to seeing it move away from me. ” Not a single student believed that his was a living wage. All of the companies opposed the unions. One had a rogues’ gallery of leaders in a two-year-old strike, and each student was compared with these upon making application for work.

In the great majority of cases the workers were friendly and ready to give a lift to the "green hands". All the girls reported on the kindness of their industrial sisters, their willingness to help each other, their patience with the new girl, and their loyalty to the group. Many a time one of the college girls was helped out of "a pinch" by an "ignorant, saucy flip of a girl" who left her own job in a piece-work system and packed cookies for the "new" girl who could not seem "to make no speed".

The working men had little sympathy for the church. Many thought it crooked, and that it was functioning in the interests of capital. It was the unanimous feeling of all students that the churches were not meeting the needs of the industrial community to-day. Some employers were obviously sincerely interested in the welfare of their employees, and striving to establish fair and just relationships. The majority, however, showed little more than a superficial interest in their workers.

The effect of such a summer's experience upon the students is both interesting and significant. Here is what some of them say: "My first week in an overall factory, I made \$1.64, saw two girls sew their fingers the first day, and last but not least, became a full-fledged, life-long believer in unions." "A part of the world that I had read about has become a living reality. The whole problem of labour and capital and the obligation of the public seems different now."

"I have a greater respect for people who work, and my interest is deepened and my knowledge of conditions infinitely broadened."

A Chinese student at the close of the Cleveland group said "I had a prejudice against the union and always had disliked the idea of such organizations in China. Now I realize that my opinion of the labour union is not justified and that labour unions have a right to exist." Another student reports "So great and vital have been the experiences of the summer I believe I have chosen my life work as a result of them." A report that is typical of many reads "The summer's experience has broadened and strengthened my Christianity". And still another commonly expressed thought reads "The experience gained in this summer's work is invaluable, for in most instances the circumstances of employment brought real life to us in a way that college theories alone could never do."

In the seven years that have passed since the movement was

initiated more than fifty groups with a total membership of well over five hundred students have been conducted in various American industrial centres. It has been observed that many of these students — perhaps most of them — have become deeply and, it is to be hoped, permanently interested in the human aspects of the great industrial problem and bid fair to become creative leaders in meeting the many vital issues which press for solution. Upon returning to their books in the Fall they have found new fascination in sociology, economics, and their other social studies ; indifferent students have been transformed into diligent students ; boys and girls absorbed in the interests and simple pleasures of college life suddenly have become earnest men and women, seriously concerned in the living issues of the day ; nominal Christians have changed into dead-in-earnest searchers for a better understanding of the ethics of Jesus and their significance to the world at this hour.

Results such as these would seem to bear out the contention of Dr. Jerome Davis of Yale University, who has been one of the leaders in this movement from the beginning, that " Men live their way into their thinking much more than they think their way into their living ".

# Chinese Students and Industrial Problems

By GIDEON CHEN.

The writer is confronted with two main difficulties in his attempt to give an account of the attitude of the Chinese Christian students toward industrial problems and their efforts to put into practice their religious convictions in this sphere of life. (1) To interpret the sweeping events in a China of five Revolutions, namely a Political Revolution, a Social Revolution, an Intellectual Revolution, an Economic Revolution and a Revolution in international relations, from a distance, is extraordinarily difficult, even for a Chinese. (2) His absence from home for two years in Europe, where reliable and up-to-date information on modern China is lamentably meagre, contributes another difficulty. Bearing these two things in mind, the following brief account of China ought to be taken as a very imperfect picture.

## Changing Social and Religious Conditions.

The problem of Christianity and industry in China, in one sense, is somewhat different from that of Europe or America, as both the Christian religion and industrial development are passing through a stage of transition. Christian students in China are facing a situation in which Nationalism is the order of the day. Their sympathy with the Nationalist Movement in politics tends to spread to the province of religion. The direct attacks upon various aspects of Western Christianity in China by the Anti-Christian movement, the Anti-Imperial and the Communist groups turn many minds towards the problem of foreign control in Christianity. Perhaps it may be considered necessary to start a "Back to Christ" movement, in order to give fresh dynamic force for moulding the life of the individual first, which will ultimately bear upon social problems.

With regard to industry in China, the order of relative importance seems to be this: Agriculture, handicraft, and modern industry. Take Canton, the pulse of the Revolutionary movement, for example. Two years ago, when I visited that great city, there was practically no single modern factory of any importance in



existence, the prevailing type of industry being handicraft. One of the hopeful signs of present-day China is the keen interest in labour and industrial problems among the student class, both Christian and non-Christian. This interest in labour questions may be attributed to Trade Union activities, the Koumintang's (Nationalist Party) labour policy, the Communistic organisation, and, in the case of Christian students, the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and the National Christian Council.

### **The Social Implications of Christianity.**

One paradox in classical China is the keen sense of social justice as expressed in human relations on one hand, and the separation between brain and hand on the other. A scholar is always considered as of the superior class in society, hence "too proud" to lift a finger in economic matters. This "superiority complex" has been broken down by the Renaissance Movement. The Student Movement in China, of which the Christian Student Movement is a part, has come to champion the cause of labour and women, in addition to its intellectual and political activities. Nothing is more popular among the students in China than the philosophy of life, social and political problems. Within this whirlpool of intellectual and spiritual awakening, the Christian students are driven to a position in which they must decide whether Christianity is a religion of life and has a practical bearing upon the present situation in China, or not. Fortunately at this critical period, a small group of Christian workers in China, like T. Z. Koo, M. T. Tchon, Miss W. T. Zung, Miss Shen, Miss Agatha Harrison, Miss Mary Dingman, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, visitors from abroad like Dame Adelaide Anderson, Dr. Harry Ward, Sherwood Eddy, together with professors of Sociology and Economics in the Christian Universities, have led the students to see the importance and significance of a Christian message in the labour world, and that a true Christian cannot close his eyes to an economic system which tends to disregard the sacredness of human personality and to deprive the "poor" of the means of self-development. As a result, the student's interest in industrial problems, as shown in class rooms and conference halls, is most amazing.

### **What the Students Have Done.**

Space does not allow of a detailed account of the Christian students' work in connection with the attempt at improving labour

conditions in China. But a summary to indicate the types of activities may be of interest.

(1) *Educational work*, running evening classes in the schools for "common" people and "poor" children.

(2) *Relief work*, collecting and distributing money for the sick and distressed workers.

(3) *Research and investigation*, studying the workers' and farmers' income and expenditure, working conditions, housing facilities, etc.

(4) *Social centres*, students from Shanghai College and St. John's University, taking turns to go down to social centres to run evening programmes for the workpeople.

(5) *Propaganda*, writing articles and distributing pamphlets on social justice to help to create a sound public opinion.

(6) *Health work*, in some cases workers are taught how to keep clean and prevent disease; elementary lessons in hygiene are given.

The tendency of education in China seems to be in the direction of direct interest in life; so also in the Christian religion.

# **The Attitude of Indian Students towards Western Industrialism.**

By PAUL LAWRENCE.

The fact that India is mainly an agricultural country and that more than ninety per cent of her peoples are employed in rural occupations is well known. A cursory glance at the shipping lists published periodically in the papers is enough to show the enormous quantity of raw materials exported from the country ; the quantity of goods imported is equally great. There was a time when India was content to get the cheap machine-made goods of the industrial countries. It was, however, soon discovered that not only were raw materials available in plenty in India, but that labour also was cheap as compared with the western countries. Companies were floated with the purpose of exploiting the natural resources of the country as well as human labour, and with them began the problems of modern industrialism in India. We would not claim that the days of pre-industrialism were golden in India, for we are aware that even when the once prosperous cottage industries were in their hey-day, the lot of the labourer was hard. Our concern is however with present industrialism and with its problems.

## **Industrialism is Inevitable.**

The Indian student, when he faces the situation fairly, realises that industrialisation is inevitable. The various branches of Government activity need workers ; the railways need men to lay the lines, to keep in repair the permanent way, to run the trains and to do a hundred others things connected with them. There is the shipping industry also, which in course of time is bound to grow, as India has thousands of miles of coastline. If the country is to advance along the line of progress, she must take advantage of modern developments and profit by them, as other nations have done ; otherwise she will be left behind. She no more than other countries can be a self-contained nation. The idea of a self-contained state is almost Utopian in these

days of quick transport and quicker correspondence. The world is being knit closer together. Since modern man is out for personal comfort and efficient business, and since science has been yoked to civilisation, industrialism has come to stay. In refutation of the argument that the Oriental is not capable of becoming an efficient skilled workman, the condition and progress of Japan, with all her modern methods of industry and statecraft, may be cited. India has, besides, a vital interest in industrial development because of her connection as a dependent nation with Britain, the outlook of whose people is largely industrial.

There are some primary difficulties which India must face, if she has any ambition to devote herself to industry. The age and traditions of the land make it hard for her people to take easily to new conditions. Commercially, in spite of all her raw materials, she is not able to muster enough Indian capital to manufacture them into marketable commodities. The machinery required for this purpose has to be imported from foreign countries. Notwithstanding these difficulties the end of last century and still more the first quarter of this saw the rise of numerous factories all over the country. And their number is increasing every day. The large cities, important railway centres, termini and seaports are growing bigger in size because of their commercial and industrial value. Among the major industries are cotton, jute, coal, steel and iron. The government has opened a department of industries and a department of labour, through which it is endeavouring to promote industry, give aid to labour and help with the solution of problems connected with it. The government has also enacted laws from time to time with regard to labour. It has not done all that it might do, but it is hoped that more will be done in the near future. Indian labour was represented at the International Labour Conferences. The plantations in India draw a large number of labourers to work on the various mountains, besides the migration of labour to Assam, Burma and Ceylon. Indian labour has also migrated to the plantations in the Straits Settlements, Fiji, Mauritius and Africa.

### Why the Indian Goes to the Factory.

Among the causes which impel the rural Indian to leave home and seek employment elsewhere are agricultural depression, the prevailing joint family system and the hereditary equal partition of estates at the death of the father, which breaks them into smaller and ever smaller holdings. There is also the landless



labourer, who is free to move, and likewise an increasing percentage of artisans whose wares do not find sale in the local market. There are also those who cannot get employment in their native places and those who have been socially ostracised in their village because of their breaking, perhaps, the recognised rule with regard to marriage or some other caste restriction. All these classes of people crowd into the cities and swell the ranks of labour already available there. Hence the disabilities of labour lead us among other things to an enquiry into the conditions obtaining in city life. The appalling conditions of labourers in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta have been brought to the notice of the public time and again; the insufficient accommodation in all the cities, the tenement houses of Bombay and the labour settlements of Calcutta, the density of population per acre, which was as high as 160 in certain parts of Madras, the over-crowding in the houses, the prevalence of disease, the high death rate, and the increasing infant mortality rate, which was as high as 556 per 1,000 in the city of Bombay.

### **What Industry Means in India To-Day.**

One hundred and ninety-one separate occupations were listed in the last census returns of the Madras Presidency.

The growth of industries in India may tend to increase the prevailing over-crowding in towns, with its train of disease, increasing death rate and infantile mortality. The ordinary Indian is a home-loving person, and the absence of this element in the city or its replacement by over-crowded, insanitary surroundings, lacking in all privacy, will be injurious to him in many ways. The dangers of a city life with its many distractions may ruin his character; this danger is increased by the shup-up factory life, with its strain on the nerves and its extreme monotony, its total lack of any element of variety, expectation or the spirit of adventure. The Indian has as yet no industrial heritage and is not used to steady and uninterrupted work. Instead of the interested friends and sympathisers of his village, the recruit to the factory finds himself in the midst of strangers; there is no labour bureau of information, there is no organisation behind him, there is no standardised wage, and it is a question of taking what is offered. When he gets work he has to wait till the end of the month before he gets his salary, and soon gets into debt, usually at a high rate of interest; his food is poor; he has little or no education, and has no security against unjust dismissal.

There are powerful employers' organisations, but those of labour are powerless. The strikers are usually faced with starvation, not having adequate benefit funds. In some places where women are employed there is no organised or uniform maternity benefit system for them; the existing workmen's compensation regulations, when applied, are not adequate. Above all, there is the feeling of working for a system and a machine rather than a person, and that the system has no interest in the individual as such. Under such circumstances the simple, innocent villager is drawn into industrialism without any adequate education; labour in India is still for the most part unskilled. He loses his simplicity in the city and factory and gets into extravagant habits, which he is often unable to keep up. The exactions of such an urban and factory existence leave his health impaired, and he returns to his village a physical and social wreck, in some cases only to die of diseases contracted in the factory.

It is sometimes said that the majority of the capitalists in India are foreigners and are therefore not particularly interested in the welfare of the labourer (though there are notable exceptions to this) and that the profits earned in the various industries go to shareholders who are living in some other country. So, in spite of all the trade of India, only a small percentage of the money made stays in the country. It cannot, however, be denied that there is more movement of money in the country than there was before these industries and the resultant commercial activity came into being. India's export and import trade has increased. Certain classes of people are also comparatively better off, because of this industrialism.

### How Students Can Help.

The hope of the future lies in the fact that industrialism is still in a comparatively elementary stage in India. It is after all subsidiary to agriculture and may remain so for ever. Before it passes beyond this elementary stage, the country will be able to provide adequate safeguards for the millions who are drawn into the system. India will be able to profit in this respect by the lessons that the more industrial western nations have learnt. If established on sound lines, with the employment of Indian capital and initiative, the introduction of industry will mean more stable wealth for the country, less waste of human life, and the prosperity of the people in general. There is not much fear of India ever becoming industrialised to the extent that she

will look for markets outside her own borders for many of her manufactured goods, any more than she is doing at present. If she is ever able to supply her own home demands she will really be a happy nation. The best that we can do under the circumstances is to devise ways and means of controlling and guiding this industrialism and shaping its future. In this the student groups in India can play a valuable part.

The effects of machinery may be changed and the machine made an instrument no longer for the destruction but rather for the enhancement of the life of the individual. From the results of the welfare work undertaken by some of the better minded capitalists themselves and from the experience of social service organisations like the Young Men's Christian Association and The Servants of India Society, it may be asserted with some force that such a reaping of the benefits of industrialism is possible.

There is much preparatory work to be done in India before effective legislation can be introduced to deal adequately with all the different forms of organised employment. Steps should also be taken for the promotion of education, for the Indian labourer is still inefficient because of his illiteracy and lack of general and technical knowledge, coupled with the lack of initiative and mechanical genius. The need of bona fide agencies and agents to collect reliable facts and data is great, and propaganda work will be the most useful function that they can discharge. They should obtain a first hand knowledge of the conditions under which the great industries of the country are carried on. Enquiry should also be made, among other matters, into the housing conditions, the unsatisfactory arrangements for the supply of food, the lack of medical aid, and the difficulty of getting sound legal advice. Furnished with this knowledge they should proceed to make the results of their enquiries as widely known as possible.

### **What Is Being Done.**

It is gratifying to note the attempts made in these directions. The Young Men's Christian Association has set apart some of its men to do welfare work among certain of the mill employees at Nagpur, and the work has been crowned with characteristic success. In Bombay, under the auspices of the Servants of India Society, a great deal has been done for the betterment of the condition of the industrial classes by means of their system of mass education, medical relief and the encouragement given to

the men to open co-operative societies, stores and clubs. The National Christian Council, through its various Provincial councils, has set on foot an enquiry into industrial conditions. It is busy collecting the necessary facts as to the conditions obtaining in the various divisions of labour. The Council has also arranged for three full-time officers, under the expert leadership of Miss M. Cecile Matheson, an Englishwoman who is fully equipped with knowledge and experience for such work, to conduct investigations into industrial conditions in India with the co-operation of leading social reformers and students of industrial conditions throughout the country. A great deal is expected from the findings of this enquiry.



# Students and Labour Conditions in England.

By HUGH C. WARNER.

Two characteristics of labour in England must be understood before any attempt is made to study its relations with particular groups, especially students, in society as a whole. Unlike conditions in America, the forces that are working exclusively for the welfare of the "working man" in England have crystallised into a political party, and labour has come to stand for a group with a pretty clearly defined political philosophy rather than an element in the social structure of the nation. The danger that attaches to this change is the danger that seems to dog the steps of political parties everywhere,—that facts which must be faced impartially and frankly by all tend to become associated with a political *credo*, and political antipathies or sympathies colour the attitude of many observers. Too often one notices merely a transference of political bias where one looks for fearless and independant study. Labour questions again in England differ strikingly from the same questions in some of the continental countries of Europe in so far as in England these questions have not become politically associated with Christianity. The Christian Churches in Great Britain have taken a very clear, constructive and definite stand on the question of the applicability of Christian principles to industrial and social ills, and in most cases have thrown themselves into the arena of social re-construction with the conviction that the principles of Christ are the only norm for a healthy society as for a healthy individual. Christian men and women hold this conviction, generally, irrespective of what political party they belong to; the vision of the kingdom of God may be the inspiration for the political Conservative and for the political Radical.

## The Academic Attitude.

It follows, therefore, that a student may interest himself in problems affecting manual and skilled workers from at least

two different motives. He may primarily be interested in politics, and feel that his political sympathies rest with the official Labour party in the government. He would claim that his wish to establish the rights of the workers rests on his social philosophy. One finds him in the universities joining with others like-minded to form a society or club, to which are invited men and women who have specialised in different aspects of social problems, and who share their experience with their hosts, etc. More interesting, from our present point of view, is the student who approaches Labour Problems from the more definitely Christian angle, especially as a member of the Student Christian Movement. Often his contact with the "worker" and his problems is necessarily of the slightest during his time in college. In the older universities of Oxford and Cambridge he lives in an artificial seclusion from the pressing imminence of industrial and social evils; his interests therefore are often more in the realm of theory than of practice; he is concerned with the underlying causes of the unsavoury facts in society more than with the facts alone. Within the fellowship of the Student Movement he meets weekly with others like himself in a small college group to study the relation of Christian principles to industry and society, through books and discussion. Sometimes each of 20 college study groups in one university will co-operate in studying each a different specific problem, e.g. Unemployment, Housing, Education, etc., and combine, at the end of two or three terms, to share their experience and conclusions. In connection with such study, opportunities for first hand contact with the subject matter of their study are sought, during the term or vacation. For some years past from Oxford and Cambridge a large group of men and women has gone for six days to live together in the industrial and commercial portion of London among the slums, to study at first hand, under the guidance of experts, the social conditions there, e. g. casual labour at the docks, over-crowding, unemployment, poor law etc. They meet with men and women immersed in the struggle for livelihood amid these surroundings, and also benefit from the experience of authorities engaged in bettering conditions.

### **Possibilities of Contact with the Workers.**

In the modern universities, where the student on the whole is living close to the facts of poverty and competition, the problem is somewhat different. Where one is close up against a question

it is difficult to see it in perspective, and as part of a greater whole. The immediate inhumanity of one element in surrounding social conditions is often obvious to such a student; it is more difficult for him to see causes which may be farther afield and interwoven in the fabric of society. His time for expansive study of labour questions is more limited than in the case of his brother in the older universities; whereas in the latter emphasis tends to fall on the more theoretical side, in the former it more often falls on the practical; e.g. the running of boys' and girls' clubs in the overcrowded districts of big cities, in which most of the modern universities are placed. In study groups, however, students do face up to the larger implications of social problems of which they may have personal experience. Again books are the chief source of knowledge; the reports of COPEC, dealing wholly with Society and Christianity and present day problems, and the hand books published from time to time by the Student Christian Movement. Parallel with the annual Settlements Work in London of students at Oxford and Cambridge, each of the modern universities from time to time organises a Social Study School for students who wish to get into more vital contact with social problems than is possible through weekly study groups. As a rule one problem is faced, different aspects of it are explained and commented on both by outside observers who have interested themselves especially in the problem, and by men and women who are themselves suffering under the conditions of hardship which the group has set itself to study. This meeting with the workers themselves is especially valuable; the problem becomes at once alive and vital. Particularly where industrial problems are concerned, it is found very valuable for such groups to go out and see the conditions themselves under which the worker is living, factories, work-houses, dock-yards and coal mines.

### **The Problem of Personal Action.**

There is one difficulty with which students of both the ancient and modern universities are faced, the very great difficulty of taking any personal part in the righting of abuses or of working out practical solutions to social problems. The years of a student's college life are preparatory to a complete active and practical life later; his time is filled with immediate tasks affecting his examinations, and the time he has to spend on other interests is often very small. He does what he may to see his life's work

as a whole, especially in the relation it will have to his fellow men. "At bottom social problems may be as much mal-adjusted personal relations as effects of uncontrolled economic forces." Study of Labour questions therefore is a necessary element in his own full education ; in his potential capacity as a citizen of his country such questions vitally affect him, as a member of the Christian Church every denial of personality in society around him is a direct challenge to his conscience. He has not the same opportunities as his American and German brothers of working alongside manual labourers during his vacation ; the pressure of college work precludes this. But a sphere in which he finds social questions at his own door while still in college is offered him in the student community in which he lives. Many of the great social questions which will face him directly as a citizen after college he finds in miniature in his own surroundings, class consciousness, gambling, drinking, etc. These vary very much from university to university ; but where evils of this type exist he finds a challenge to his Christian conscience. Through study groups on college social problems, through debates, and through cooperation with interested members of his university staff, he tries to face the challenge. In groups where he sets out to study the bigger Labour questions this immediate " point d'appui " is often found to be of very real value in understanding the human side of the larger and more complex problems in society, suggesting an organic connection between the immediate concerns of college life and the bigger life of the world outside.

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## Notes on Contributors

Monsieur ARNOLD BRÉMOND is a young Swiss who has been studying theology at the University of Paris.

Mr GIDEON CHEN is Industrial Secretary of the National Christian Council of China.

Mr. B. CHERRINGTON was formerly Travelling Secretary for the Student Y. M. C. A. of the United States in the Rocky Mountain Area. He is now Executive Secretary to the Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences in the University of Denver.

Miss MARY DINGMAN is Industrial Secretary to the World's Y. W. C. A. and has a first-hand knowledge of conditions in Chinese factories.

Dr. FAUQUET is an official in the International Labour Office, Geneva.

Mr. SHUICHI HARADA is a Japanese student who has been pursuing a course of post-graduate work at Columbia University, U.S. A.

Mr. JOHN H. HARRIS is Parliamentary Secretary to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Great Britain.

Dr ADOLF KELLER is a member of the Continuation Committee of the Stockholm Life and Work Conference, and General Secretary for the International Social Institute at Zurich.

Mr. PAUL LAWRENCE is Acting Secretary to the Bishop of Madras.

Dr. KARL MICHAELIS, who is a nephew of the Ex-Chancellor of Germany, Excellenz Michaelis, is Secretary of the Westphalian Department of the Auxiliary Branch of the German Student Christian Movement.

The Rev. REINHOLD NIEBUHR has been, since 1915, pastor of Bethel Church in Detroit, U. S. A., spending about half

of his time in college speaking and in the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. He has also for some time been one of the editors of the "Christian Century".

Monsieur ANDRÉ PHILIP is Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Lyons. He has a first-hand knowledge of industrial conditions both in France and in the United States.

Mr. MALCOLM SPARKES was largely responsible for the scheme of the "Whitley Councils" and has had a long practical experience in industrial matters. He is the author of the book "Modern Industry" published by the British Student Christian Movement.

Mr. HUGH WARNER is Secretary for the British Student Movement in Birmingham University, and a member of the Social Questions Standing Committee of the Movement. He took a leading part in social study work when at Oxford.

Dr. ARNOLD WOLFERS is a graduate of the University of Zurich and is now Professor in the Institute of Higher Politics in Berlin.



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